



Government of Bengal

**Final Report on the
Survey and Settlement Operations
in the District of Nadia
1918—1926**

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NADIA FINAL REPORT.

Erratum.

[Unless otherwise indicated, the expressions *from the top* and *from the bottom* mean from the top and the bottom of the paragraph respectively.]

Page	Paragraph	Column	Line		
7	2	left	4	from the top ..	.. for the dash <i>read</i> a full stop.
7	2	do.	4	ditto ..	.. for the <i>read</i> The.
7	2	do.	5	ditto ..	.. for Branch <i>read</i> branch.
7	2	do.	9	ditto ..	.. delete the dash.
7	2	right	10	from the bottom ..	.. delete the dash.
8	4	left	8	from the top ..	.. for Raj <i>read</i> Raja.
8	4	do.	18	ditto ..	.. for bear <i>read</i> boars.
8	4	do.	24	ditto ..	.. for General <i>read</i> general.
9	5	right	25	ditto ..	.. for house <i>read</i> home.
9	5	do.	25	ditto ..	.. for Adwuitya <i>read</i> Adwaita.
9	5	do.	30	ditto ..	.. for Hindu's <i>read</i> Hindus.
10	5	left	10	from the bottom of the page ..	.. for full stop <i>read</i> comma.
10	5	right	13	from the top of the page ..	.. delete the comma.
11	5	left	25	ditto ..	.. for Heaven <i>read</i> heavgn.
11	5	do.	27	ditto ..	.. underline the word <i>dob</i> .
12	7	do.	6	from the bottom of the page ..	.. for its self <i>read</i> itself.
13	7	do.	25 and 26	ditto ..	.. for " are rivers " <i>read</i> is.
13	7	do.	11	from the bottom of the page ..	.. delete the words " at the river Jellanghi and insert a full stop after the word " point "
13	7	right	27	from the top of the page ..	.. insert a full stop after the word " river."
13	7	do.	16	from the bottom of the page ..	.. for were <i>read</i> are.
14	8	do.	5	from the top of the page ..	.. for following <i>read</i> following.
15	9	do.	26	ditto ..	.. for Of <i>read</i> for.
15	9	do.	29	ditto ..	.. for good <i>read</i> foul.
15	9	do.	30	ditto ..	.. underline the word <i>dobas</i> .
16	10	left	32	ditto ..	.. for house holders <i>read</i> householders.
16	12	right	17	ditto ..	.. for into <i>read</i> on to.
16	12	do.	21 and 22	ditto ..	.. for Poradaha <i>read</i> Ranaghat.
16	12	do.	2	from the bottom of the page ..	.. insert a comma after the word <i>district</i> .
18	12	left	8	from the top of the page ..	.. insert the words " the people " after the word " year".
19	13	do.	8	ditto ..	.. for headquarter <i>read</i> hoadquarters.
19	13	do.	27	ditto ..	.. insert a comma after Krishnagar and after Capital.

Page	Paragraph	Column	Line	
19	13	left	39 from the top of the page	.. for decrepid read decrepit.
19	13	do.	44 ditto ..	.. for Indunath read Jadunath.
19	13	right	16 from the bottom	.. for Patni read Panti.
20	13	left	20 from the top of the page	.. for exhibited read exhibit.
20	13	do.	25 ditto ..	.. for owns read owes.
21	14	do.	22 ditto ..	.. for Or read nor.
21	14	do.	23 ditto ..	.. for assume read assumes.
21	14	right	last line at the bottom of the page	for there read these.
22	14	left	32 from the top of the page	.. for this read His.
22	14	do.	4 from the bottom of the page.. and 5	for Kayot read Kayet.
23	14	do.	12 from the top of the page	.. insert a comma after the word " planters
23	15	right	6 from the top ..	.. for more read most.
24	16	left	6 from the bottom of the page..	for former read grocer.
24	17	right	last line at the bottom of the the page.	for staying read stay.
25	17	left	2 from the top of the page	.. for rents free read rentfree.
25	17	do.	15 ditto ..	.. for towards read to adopt.
25	17	do.	2 from the bottom	.. for their read its.
25	18	right	26 from the top of the page	.. for suffice read suffices.
25	19	do.	31 ditto ..	.. insert the word " the latter " before the word " having ".
25	18	do.	37 ditto ..	.. for cultivators' read cultivator's.
25	18	do.	52 ditto ..	.. for Survey read Census
26	18	left	23 ditto ..	.. underline the word " Paikars".
26	18	right	20 from the bottom of the page..	for cultivators read cultivator.
27	18	left	19 from the top of the page	.. for dependents read dependants.
27	19	do.	10 from the bottom of the page..	for per read for.
27	19	right	21 from the top of the page	.. for dependents read dependants.
28	20	left	1 ditto ..	.. for litigious read litigious.
28	20	do.	8 from the top of the page	.. for former read women.
28	20	do.	13 from the bottom of the page ..	for unusually read usually.
33	25	right	12 ditto ..	.. for mile read miles.
33	25	do.	8 ditto ..	.. for practiced read practised.
40	38	do.	5 from the top ..	.. for town read towns.
50	51	left	7 ditto ..	.. for 52 read 52.
52	55	right	21 ditto ..	.. for grant read Grant.
53	56	left	16 from the bottom of the page..	for or read Ner.
61	71	do.	8 ditto ..	.. for of read on.
61	72	right	4 ditto ..	.. for tencies read tenancies.
62	72	left	21 ditto ..	.. for imposed read imposed.
62	72	do.	20 ditto ..	.. for are read is.
65	77	right	25 from the top of the page	.. for jalhashila read halhashila.
66	77	left	10 from the bottom	.. for Griffeth read Griffith.

Page	Paragraph	Column	Line	
68	80	left	29 from the top of the page	.. for is read are.
68	80	do.	30 ditto ..	.. for 80 read 120.
70	81	right	12 ditto ..	.. for tenures read tenure.
71	82	do.	19 ditto ..	.. for in all the last three types read in the last two types.
72	82	left	8 ditto ..	.. for Lal Joumed read 17 Cal. I. L. R. Calcutta.
75	85	right	5 from the bottom of the page..	for Rs. 2-8 read Rs. 2.
77	85	left	7 from the top of the page	.. for realised read realise.
77	86	right	13 ditto ..	.. for the read The.
77	86	do.	28 ditto ..	.. for which read while.
77	86	do.	7 from the bottom of the page..	for cannot read can.
78	86	left	20 ditto ..	.. for tenant read tenants.
79	87	right	15 from the top of the page	.. insert the word " them " after the word " accept".
80	89	do.	26 ditto ..	.. for States read State's.
80	90	do.	9 from the bottom of the page..	for act read Act.
82	93	do.	18 from the top ..	.. for is read constitute.
82	93	do.	26 ditto ..	.. for raiyats' read raiyats.
84	95	left	8 from the top of the page	.. for Raipur read Rajpur.
84	95	do.	4 from the bottom of the page..	for Darapur read Dariapur.
84	95	right	21 from the top of the page	.. for is read are
84	95	do.	25 ditto ..	.. for raiyat's read raiyats.
85	95	left	17 from the bottom of the page..	for mauza read thana.
85	95	right	12 from the top of the page	.. for Kathalpota read Kathalpota.
86	95	left	16 ditto ..	.. for land read lands.
86	95	do.	3 from the bottom	.. for tenancy read tenantry.
86	97	right	9 from the top	.. for irrigation read irritation.
86	97	do.	17 ditto ..	.. for brought read fought.
86	97	do.	20 ditto ..	.. for receipts read receipt.
87	98	left	2 from the bottom and 3	.. for vegetables read vegetables.
87	99	do.	7 from the top	.. for as read As and substitute the comma after seeds by a full stop.
87	100	right	3 from the bottom	.. for temporary read temporarily.
87	101	do.	5 from the bottom of the page..	for tenants read tenants'.
88	103	do.	8 from the top ..	.. for dispute read disputes.
89	103	left	last line	.. for 2 bighas and 9½ kattas read 3 bighas 8 chittaks.
89	105	right	7 from the top	.. for temporary read temporarily.
90	106	left	17 from the bottom of the page..	for result read results.
90	107	right	20 from the top ..	.. insert the word " the " before the word " following".
90	107	do.	22 ditto ..	.. for " refers " read refer.
100	119	left	first line of the page	.. insert the word " them " after "without".
100	119	do.	29 from the top of the page	.. for tauzi settlement read temporarily settled.

Page	Paragraph	Column	Line		
100	121	right	1 from the top	..	.. for take read took.
100	121	do.	7 ditto	..	.. for seem read seems.
101	121	do.	13 from the top of the page	..	.. for interest read interests.
102	121	left	11 from the bottom of the page	..	.. for Krasra read Khasra.
103	122	do.	33 from the top of the page	..	.. for their read this
103	122	right	12 ditto	..	.. for In read in and insert a comma after nal.
103	122	do.	13 ditto	..	.. for on read in.
104	124	do.	33 ditto	..	.. for raiyati read mauza
108	126	left	12 from the bottom of the page and 13	..	.. for or rent read of rod.
108	126	right	15 from the top of the page	..	.. for characater read character.
109	126	left	17 ditto	..	.. for comma after " holdings ", read a full stop.
109	126	do.	17 ditto	..	.. for the read The.
109	126	right	3 ditto	..	.. for on read in.
109	126	do.	21 from the bottom of the page	..	.. for on read in.
109	126	do.	8 ditto	..	.. for modifications read modification.
109	126	do.	7 ditto	..	.. for all read according.
110	126	do.	13 from the top of the page	..	.. for for read far.
110	126	do.	19 ditto	..	.. for cantelae read cautelâ.
111	127	do.	14 ditto	..	.. for on read in.
111	127	do.	3 from the bottom of the page	..	.. delete the semicolon after the word " attestation ".
111	127	do.	last line of the page	..	.. for by read of.
112	127	do.	21 from the top of the page	..	.. for on read in.
114	129	left	9 from the bottom of the page	..	.. for but read was.
115	130	do.	28 from the top of the page	..	.. for coparceneries read coparceners.
115	130	right	12 ditto	..	.. delete the word " given ".
116	130	left	9 ditto	..	.. for these read there.
116	131	do.	5 from the bottom of the page	..	.. insert the word " resulted " after the word " application ".
117	131	right	7 from the top of the page	..	.. for the read two.
117	132	do.	16 from the top	..	.. for arrear read area.
123	138	left	24 from the top of the page	..	.. for Sir read Bir.
126	141	do.	6 ditto	..	.. for Officer read Officers.
126	142	right	5 ditto	..	.. for presumption read presumption.
127	143	left	7 from the bottom	..	.. for indentifiable read identifiable.
128	147	right	2 from the top	..	.. for Shalk read Schalch.
129	147	left	3 from the top of the page and 12	..	.. for Shalk's read Schalch's.

Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Nadia.

PART I.—THE DISTRICT.

Chapter I.—Boundaries, area, general.

1. **Scope of the operations.**—This report deals with the settlement operations in the Nadia district excluding the diara area along the Padma which was taken up in connexion with the Rajshahi District Settlement, and excluding also about 8 square miles scattered about the municipal environs of Santipur and other parts of police-station Santipur which had been surveyed and a record-of-rights prepared in 1908 and the permanently settled parts of 3 mauzahs in Mirpur police-station, of which also a survey and record-of-rights had been prepared in 1915 comprising an area of 3.64 square miles.

An area of 103 square miles in districts Murshidabad, Burdwan and Hooghly lying along the west bank of the Bhagirathi was also surveyed and a record-of-rights prepared in the course of the present operations. As the area was small and contained nothing calling for a special comment, it has not been dealt with in this report.

2. **Situation and boundaries.**—The Nadia district is situated in the northern part of the deltaic triangle formed by the two branches of the Ganges—the old Branch called the Bhagirathi lies on the west of the district and the later branch and present main channel of the Ganges called the Padma forms the district boundary—along the north-east.

The shape of the district is irregular but may be likened to two triangles having a common base; the one pointing north and the other pointing south; the north triangle would be a right-angled triangle, of which the apex would be the right angle; the south triangle would be an acute-angled triangle; the base line common to both triangles would pass from the south-west to the north-east through Kaliganj, Tehatta, Meherpur, Alamdanga, Mirpur, Kushtia and Kumarkhali police-stations.

In area the district is 2,898 square miles including 321 square miles done by

the Rajshahi party (62 square miles in police-station Karimpur, 80 square miles in police-station Daulatpur, 59 square miles in police-station Bheramara, 76 square miles in police-station Mirpur, 31 square miles in police-station Kushtia, 73 square miles in police-station Kumarkhali).

On the north-west of the district is the district of Murshidabad. The boundary on this side for most of its length is formed by the river Jellanghi, for the rest it is, for a length of about 14 miles, an artificial boundary until the Bhagirathi is reached on the extreme south-west of this section. The Bhagirathi then forms the boundary between Nadia and Murshidabad for about 4 miles.

On the west of the district are the districts of Burdwan and Hooghly. The boundary between Burdwan and Nadia is an artificial boundary as laid down in notification No. 7874 Jur., dated 24th August 1922. The boundary lies roughly along the river Bhagirathi, but that river does not itself form the boundary. The town of Nabadwip which has given its name to the district has for many years lain on the west side of the Bhagirathi. Between the Hooghly district and Nadia district the boundary is the mid-stream of the river Hooghly. The Bhagirathi river becomes the Hooghly river south of the junction with it of the river Jellanghi at Swarupganj nearly opposite the town of Nabadwip.

On the south, at what I have above referred to as the apex of the southern or acute-angled triangle, the boundary marches with the northern boundary of the district of the 24-Pargannahs—a distance of about 15 miles.

Practically all along its eastern boundary Nadia district marches with Jessore district, but on the extreme north corner of the eastern boundary for a distance of about 10 miles, Nadia is bounded by the district of Faridpur; on the north-east the district boundary is the mid-stream of the river Padma.

3. **Conservatism of the district.**—Nadia district therefore lies in the heart of the Presidency.

It does not now perhaps contribute much to the economic or political life of the province. On its south it touches the outskirts of the great industrial areas of the metropolis. On the east it touches the fertile plains and swamps of Eastern Bengal from which those industrial areas draw so much of their prosperity. But Nadia itself remains unmoved and apart. The great trade routes from Calcutta to North and East Bengal pass through it. It contains the two important railway junctions of Poradaha and Ranaghat. Poradaha assumes the appearance of a town when a train comes in, but at once relapses into its more habitual aspect of gloom, as soon as the train goes out again. Ranaghat must be one of the best known names in Bengal. It is always full of people waiting for trains which never seem to come. But movement and life begin and end at the railway station.

- This conservatism and sequestration of the district from the pulsations of modern life is its most striking characteristic, the colour tone as it were of the whole picture.

- 4. **Historical associations.**—But it was not perhaps always so. It is perhaps an exaggeration to say that Nadia was the battle field of clashing dynasties. But at any rate it was the scene of some important historical events. It is said that Nabadwip was the capital of Lakshman Sen, the last Sen Raj of Bengal. He fled by the back door when Baktiyar Khilji, the Afghan raider, appeared at the front. There are mounds of earth near Debagram in Kaliganj police-station which are said to have been the site of one of the palaces of Raja Ballal Sen of the same dynasty. Antiquarians from Calcutta have been attracted to these mounds. One of the ghats at Santipur still bear the name of Baktiyar Khilji, for it was there that he is said to have crossed the Bhagirathi.

- When Pratapaditva threw off the Moghul yoke at Mohammadpur in Jessore in the latter half of the 16th century, the Mohammedan General Mansing passed through the south of the district on his way to crush the rebel. Hatikanda a village in Chakdaha police-station contains a banyan tree under which Mansing is said to have tethered his elephant, and from that tradition the village has derived its name. Traces of a road exist in Haringhata police-station said to have been constructed for the

passage of Mansing's army. From this expedition the Rai family of Nadia received its first hoist on the ladder of greatness. Bhabananda Majumdar, the founder of the family fortunes, helped Mansing and got his due reward. The family continued its tradition of backing the right horse in the time of Clive. It is perhaps a comforting reflection that the present representative of the house is a member of the Executive Council of this province.

In more recent times the battle of Plassey was fought on Nadia soil. The site is in the north of Kaliganj police-station.

Its association with the long established house of Nadia has provided the central and southern parts of the district with other interesting remains. The Rajahs or some of them liked to have different country seats. Srinagar on the extreme south-east corner of Chakdaha police-station was one of those. It is now so dense a jungle that no one readily musters up courage to penetrate therein. At the time of survey a specially stout-hearted up-country Amin had to be employed. Sibnibash in police-station Kissenganj is another. Some of the temples are still in existence. Haradham at the junction of the Choorani with the Bhagirathi river in police-station Ranaghat is another. Here today are found the only persons in whose veins the blood of the well-known Raja Krishna Chandra Rai still flows. They are his descendants through his second wife. Adoption has long been prevalent in the main line.

Turning to more recent history, Krishnagar was at any rate in 1860 the headquarters of a Commissionership. At that time the district played an important part in the economic life of the province. It was one of the main centres of the Indigo Industry in Bengal, an industry which in importance occupied the place held by the Jute Industry today. The industry was established in the early days of the British domination in Bengal. The husband of the famous Madame Grand is said to have been the first European to exploit its possibilities at Patna. But as early as the 8th decade of the 18th century there were indigo factories already established in the vicinity of Calcutta. Warren Hastings had to buy out in the village of Palta an indigo planter called Prinsep when he was establishing the Military

Cantonment at Barrackpur. Shikarpur and Haringhata in the Nadia district were both established as indigo factories by the year 1827. The industry received a great stimulus when the embargo on the acquisition of land by Europeans was removed about 1830. Between 1840 and 1860 the industry was at the height of its volume and prosperity. Throughout the whole of the district there are dotted the remains of masonry structures which were used for the manufacture of indigo and as the residence of the planters and their assistants. Some of the structures are still used today. The magnificent house at Betai in police-station Tehatta is maintained by Babu Nafar Chandra Pal Chaudhury and was occupied for a few days by various members of this settlement staff. For many years it was the home of Mr. William Sibbold, a Manager and afterwards successor in interest in that area of Mr. James Hills. The house is provided with a billiard room and is constructed on most generous lines, both as to size and condition, being far superior to many of the official residences of even high officials in the Bengal mofussil to-day. The bungalows at Shikarpur, police-station Karimpur and at Nischindipur, police-station Damurhuda are the headquarters today of the managers of the Midnapur Zemindari Company. The former was previously the headquarters of the manager of Robert Watson & Co., Ltd., and the latter of the famous James Hills, both predecessors in interest of the present company. There are other buildings of the same type in use to-day which I need not enumerate. Nor is it here necessary to describe the decline of the industry subsequent to the indigo disturbances which culminated in 1860 and its total eclipse about 1900 on the appearance as competitors in the market of the German synthetic dyes. The industry experienced a temporary revival during the war. And this probably contributed towards the agrarian unrest in and around the northern parts of the district, which distinguished the relations in 1921-22 between the Midnapur Zemindari Company and their tenants. The Indigo Industry has left a lasting mark on the land system of the district which will be commented on later. For the present it is appropriate to remark that though during the palmy days of indigo the district must have contained a larger proportion of European residents throughout its length and

breadth than most districts of Bengal, the people have not assimilated European habits at all. Nadia as I said before is the most conservative, its people in habits and outlook the most esoteric of all districts.

5. **Present interest of the district.**—

But though Nadia is backward, or at least old fashioned, that does not mean that it has no interest for any one to-day. In fact it presents several aspects of most vital present-day importance.

In the forefront must be placed its religious appeal to the Hindus. Nabadwip from time immemorial has been a great seat of Sanskrit Scholarship. It is celebrated as the home in the 15th century of Chaitanya, the great Hindu reformer, better known as Lord Gauranga from his fair complexion. He is the founder of Baishnabism, a creed which unfortunately is said to have become somewhat debased by reason of it being embraced by many people of both sects who have lost their social standing owing to social irregularities. Nabadwip is to-day a place of pilgrimage for thousands of Hindus from all over the country. Santipur has also attracted to itself some of the glamour of that great religious revival. It was the house of Adwitya Achary, the chief follower and lieutenant of Lord Gauranga. Moreover the river Bhagirathi which flows along the whole length of the district's western boundary is still to the Hindu's the sacred Ganges. To bathe therein is to be washed clean of sin and to have one's ashes scattered in its waters is to gain eternal blessedness.

To the student of literature Nadia has its interest. It is the home of the purest Bengali, of what until recently was the standard Bengali. In this respect, it has now perhaps been displaced by Calcutta. Fulia, a village in Santipur police-station was the home of Kabi Kirttibasa, the first Bengali poet, and the Bengali dramatist Babu Dinabandhu Mitra, the famous author of "Nildarpan," had his home within a mile of the indigo factory which used to be situated at Haringhata.

It will thus be seen that the religious, literary and historic associations of Nadia relate to its west and southern parts, but that the whole district was at one time equally given to the indigo industry.

Another aspect of Nadia which is of interest and of practical interest to-day is the aspect it unfolds and the

problems it involves of deltaic creation in which the fluvial forces which originally built it up have ceased to operate. Geologists have told us that the oldest alluvial strata in Bengal are represented by the hard reddish soil found in the Madhupur jungle in Mymensingh and Dacca, the Lalmai Hills in Tipperah and in the Barind tract of Rajshahi. The latest alluvion occurs generally in Eastern Bengal where the rivers are still engaged in raising the level of the country by the annual deposit of silt. Mid-way between these two extremes comes the greater part of the districts of Murshidabad, Nadia and Jessore. All these districts are extremely malarial. And in all these districts there is a persistent tradition of the former salubrity of the climate. All of us are disposed to find somewhere in the past an age innocent of the complexities and troubles of the present, and the Bengali not less so than the rest of mankind. This golden past of Nadia where the rivers of central Bengal were still active and brought in their wake riches and plenty is not placed by the inhabitants of the district in the remote past. Some say it was 50 years ago. But that has been definitely contradicted by the Engineer who helped to construct the Eastern Bengal Railway. Others place the golden age some 150 years ago. But James Rennell found in 1781 the Nadia rivers not passable by boats all the year round. In any case it was well outside the span of living memory. The general sense of the Committee formed in 1917 to consider the condition of the Nadia rivers in reference to the volume of water brought down by the Hooghly to Calcutta, and in this connection to examine the future of the port of Calcutta, was to the effect that no rapid change had taken place in the condition of the Nadia rivers within historical times. In the absence of definite evidence to the contrary it must, I think, be assumed that for at least a century and a half Nadia has been outside the area of active fluvial operation. The unfavourable consequences on the general health of the people and the fertility of the soil may be accumulative. That is, the full effects of the deterioration of the rivers may not be felt until many years after such deterioration has become complete. The population of Nadia is much what it was in 1871. The decrease is only 0.3 per cent. a decrease which might have been converted into a slight increase had it not been for the disastrous influenza epidemic of

1918-19. We know that the district was devastated by the "Burdwan fever" which raged for almost a generation from 1861 onwards. It does not in my opinion follow that that year even approximately marks the first appearance of those physical conditions which make for the general deterioration of public health. The conditions may for many years have been present, silently and gradually at work, and year by year causing a decline in the virility of the population, until some extraneous, factor impinging upon them finds a favourable soil for its mission of destruction. It has never been affirmed that the influenza epidemic which attacked Nadia with exceptional ferocity was the concomitant of any marked physical deterioration in the climate of the district. It simply found a favourable soil. And the same may hold good of the Burdwan fever epidemics. The only evidence at all that I have been able to collect pointing to a greater degree of prosperity and health within recent times in the district, is the existence almost throughout the Ranaghat subdivision and in the southern part of Krishnagar police-station of fine masonry buildings overgrown with jungle deserted and falling into ruins. At what period this depopulation took place it is not possible to say but judging from the conditions of the ruined remains of indigo factories which I have seen both in this district and Jessore and the date of whose abandonment we know, the majority of the masonry houses would seem to have been deserted after 1860 probably some time during the generation which was afflicted by the Burdwan fever. The inhabitants were of a class which could afford to flit and did so.

The only other evidence I have met of the prevalence within fairly recent times of a higher standard of health than that prevailing to-day is contained in the report of the Revenue Surveyors in 1854-56 who make no mention of the insalubrity of the climate, but mention the district as a very pleasant one to work in.

My conclusion therefore on this point taken for what it is worth would be that Nadia has for at least a century and a half been a district in which the conditions appropriate to the prevalence of malarial fever have obtained, that this circumstance attracted no general attention and created no panic until the advent of the Burdwan fever in 1860.

The evil effects of these conditions is almost necessarily cumulative. Depopulation leads to the growth of jungle, the growth of jungle in turn leads to more fever and more depopulation. The general tendency of mankind towards multiplication is brought into conflict with a tendency of greater strength and momentum.

The conditions appropriate to the prevalence of malarial fever are intimately connected with the river system of the country. I have mentioned before that the 3 districts of Murshidabad, Nadia and Jessore which are by common consent the home of malaria in Bengal are in an intermediate stage. The rivers are dead in the sense that they no longer spill silt over the land or in their retreat flush out the débris of the countryside. The only water that spreads over the face of Nadia (always excepting Kushtia, Kumarkhali and Khoksha police-stations on the east) is the rain from Heaven. The rain water has nowhere to drain off to, except the dobas and ditches round the homesteads, the lower levels of the open fields, and the choked-up beds of khals which once formed useful elements in the general drainage system. The rain water alone is not strong enough to do the work of scouring out the khals. This only happens when the whole country has been covered with water from the rivers which as they shrink on the subsidence of the flood draw back to themselves through various channels and khals a healthy volume of the spill water they originally sent over the face of the country. The result in a district like Nadia is that the accumulating water lies stagnant and provides a breeding place for the mosquito. The land loses its silt and the lower levels and khals of the country gradually get built up with the stuff that the water accumulating in them brings with it.

That the process of the gradual raising of the lower levels is at work in Nadia is tolerably clear. In Karimpur and Gangni thanas, land which was before too low for cultivation is now being brought under the plough. Parts of the beds of once active rivers such as the Bhairab in Karimpur and Meherpur thanas and the Hanjan and Bachko rivers in Ranaghat are now being cultivated. At present these levels are the most fertile parts of the district. They get some sort of silt from the waters which accumulate in them.

Another sign that Nadia is at present in the intermediate stage following on an interruption in the adjustment of the ebb and flow of a proper drainage system and the completed stage when all the lower levels have been raised up is that the whole district is dotted about with these smaller depressions. These are often not much lower than the surrounding land. They never go deep under water and they never dry up completely. On the other hand it is the characteristic of a properly drained country such as many parts of Eastern Bengal that the lower places dry up completely in the early parts of the year but during the rains go under water often to the extent of 25 feet. I have many times in the early months ridden over land in Eastern Bengal where in the rains traversed by boat the waves have induced the appearance of a small sea.

Chapter II.—Physical features, rainfall and climate.

6. **General appearance.**—To say that the district is flat and the general aspect that of a vast level alluvial plain, dotted with villages, clusters of trees and intersected by rivers, minor streams and swamps, is to frame a description equally applicable to almost any other part of Bengal. But it is true that the district is without any striking physical characteristics such as the large bil tract on the east of Mymensingh, the hill tract in Tippera, the Bariud in Rajshahi or the jungle area of Midnapore. The east part of Kaliganj police-station and the west part of Tehatta police-station contain a uniform stretch of rather low land of a heavier soil than is usual in anywhere but the bils of the district. This tract is part of the Kalantar, most of which lies in district Murshidabad and of which the part in Nadia is but the continuation.

7. **The rivers.**—The district contains 3 rivers which are known as the Nadia rivers, and which have had for many years a special conservancy agency to look after them. The reason for their importance is that before the opening up of the railways, these rivers were the regular means of communication between Calcutta and Upper India: and even thereafter of great importance as a trade route connecting the upper and the lower

Ganges. Now however most of the river-borne trade with upper India goes by the east and the condition of these rivers is important only in its bearing on the continued navigability of the Hooghly at Calcutta.

It is not necessary to describe in detail the course formed by these 3 rivers; a glance at the map at the end of the volume will indicate that.

The Bhagirathi, the most westerly of the 3 rivers, lies along the west of the district and at one time formed the main stream of the Ganges. It is reinforced in its passage through Nadia by the accession of the waters of the Ajoy, Balla, Kandu and Swaraswati rivers on its west bank, and of the Jellanghi and Churni on its east. In its upper reaches the river becomes very shallow in the dry season and its connexion with the main stream of the Ganges is then entirely blocked up. Below its junction with the Jellanghi however it is throughout the year a considerable stream and a steamer service plies all the year round between Calcutta and Kalna on alternative days and every Saturday goes up as far as Nabadwip. In the rains the steamers go up as far as Berhampur in Murshidabad. The great thing is for the bodies of dead Hindus to be cast into the Bhagirathi after cremation. There are properly equipped cremation ghats at Uddharanpur in Burdwan, Tribeni in Hooghly and Chanduria in Nadia. Bodies are transmitted to these places by rail and road from distant places. Unfortunately the practice is not confined to proper cremation at these appointed ghats. Corpses are frequently and almost as a matter of course thrown into the river without proper cremation. The practice has become a nuisance.

The rivers which flow into the Bhagirathi, on the west bank are different in character from the tributaries received on its east bank. They come from the Chota Nagpur hills and have the characteristic red colouring of the Rarh. The Ajoy comes into the Bhagirathi at Katwa with a fall of from 4 to 8 feet. After the first heavy showers of the year it discharges its self with violence and a noise which can be heard for miles round.

The Bhagirathi has confined its fluctuations since at least the time of Rennell within narrow limits, but

within such limits twisted and tortured the area to an astonishing degree. Its tendency at present is towards the west. The chars fall therefore mostly on the Nadia side. They are unlike the chars of the Meghna. They are on their first formation pure sand and are built up very slowly. They do not reach the line of the surrounding country. In the lower reaches and on the Hooghly side, the chars grow up quicker and attain more rapidly a greater measure of fertility. The chars on that side are being colonized by immigrants from Tipperah and up-country men who have finished their time at the mills. Of the Jellanghi or Kharia as it is locally called little need be said. It is the central of the 3 Nadia rivers. Its general direction is north to south through the west face of the district until at Krishnagar it turns west to fall into the Bhagirathi opposite Nabadwip. The river is still strong enough to subject its course to fluctuations. It is not of much use as a channel for trade. It is not navigable for big boats throughout its course for more than 3 months in the year.

The Mathabhanga, the most easterly of the three rivers, is perhaps rather more interesting. Its name would suggest that from its inception it was a restless river. It is still the most restless of all the Nadia rivers. It must at one time have played an important part in the river system of Nadia and Jessore. Within Nadia it bifurcates twice, once near the trijunction point of Mirpur, Daulatpur, Gangni and Alampur police-stations. Its eastern arm is known as the Kumar. The Kumar shows much of the restlessness of its parent. The Kumar after forming part of the boundary between Nadia and Jessore passes into the Jessore district the other or western branch of the Mathabhanga bifurcates again in the centre of Krishnaganj police-station. One arm known as the Churni flows more or less straight south-west past Ranaghat to the Bhagirathi. The other arm known as the Ichamati flows south and after forming part of the boundary between Nadia and Jessore passes into Jessore. Neither the Churni nor the Ichamati has shown much alteration in its channel since the Revenue Survey. The Ichamati is a very sluggish deep river said to be full of crocodiles. It had the same characteristics in 1860.

Besides the Kumar and the Ichamati, Jessore district used to derive from

the Mathabhanga both the Nabaganga and the Chitra rivers. These rivers have now no access to the Matabhanga. They rise haphazardly in the southern parts of Chuadanga police-station where they are in a very decadent condition.

The Mathabhanga must therefore at one time have played an important part in the fertilization and drainage of the eastern parts of Nadia and Jessore and its deterioration has led to a correspondingly wide deterioration in the health and prosperity of the two districts.

Like the Jellanghi, the Matabhanga is not navigable by big boats for more than 3 months of the year. Even so, as it passes through some of the least accessible parts of the district, produce earmarked for export is stored up in Karimpur and Gangni police-stations until the river is open to traffic in July.

In the cold weather both the Jellanghi and the Matabhanga are attractive to the eye. They have very high steep banks which seem ridiculously out of proportion to the exiguous stream of clear blue water lying far below. The banks of the Bhagirathi are neither so steep nor so high as those of the other 2 rivers and are further apart. The bed is wide, mostly a stretch of sand in the cold weather.

Unlike the Bhagirathi, neither the Jellanghi nor the Mathabhanga are rivers known to legend. The part played by these 2 rivers seems at one time to have been played by the Bhairab, undoubtedly a much older stream than either of the other two. This is shown by the fact that the identity of the Bhairab survives its junction both with the Jellanghi and the Mathabhanga. There is an old water course still called the Bhairab river in Murshidabad and effecting a junction with the Jellanghi near Enayetnagar in police-station Karimpur. The Bhairab reemerges from the Jellanghi some 10 miles north-east from that point at the river Jellanghi. It can scarcely be doubted that along that length of common course with the Jellanghi, the Bhairab alone used to flow and in an opposite direction from the Jellanghi's present stream. From its point of reemergence, the Bhairab pursues a most tortuous course through Karimpur and Meherpur police-stations and joins the Matabhanga in the centre of Damurhuda police-station. It takes

off again about 5 miles further down the river and passes into Jessore after twisting and turning through Jibanagar police-station.

The river on which Khulna stands to-day bears the name of the Bhairab. At Khulna it is a fine strong river. People of the two districts of Nadia and Jessore like to think that the Bhairab was at one time the main stream of the Ganges. Speculation on the point is futile. But that is was a fine strong river years ago its very name implies. To-day its upper reaches are being cultivated; they are scarcely traceable. In Meherpur and Damurhuda the river is overgrown with what is now called "German Pana" (water hyacinth). For the greater part of the year it has no current. Its effects on the health of the country through which it flows are pestilential.

A good many of the old indigo factories were built on the banks of the Bhairab. From this it is argued that 70 or 80 years ago the Bhairab was a healthy life-giving river, I don't think that that follows. The very fact that permanent structures were raised on its banks would seem to me to indicate that even at that date the Bhairab had ceased to be active. One of the indications of activity in a deltaic river is the mutability of its course. No one would build permanent structures in Bengal on the banks of a river which is known to be active in this sense. All that the formation of these factories by the banks of the Bhairab in my opinion goes to show is that at the time of their construction the Bhairab was a dying river but was not so dead as it is now. To-day none would elect to build a residence by its banks if he had any other choice. I have already mentioned the Hanjar and the Bichko in police-station Ranaghat. They were completely dead. The Jabuna in police-station Haringhata is another river of the same type. At one time it flowed into the Hooghly opposite Tribeni. Tribeni derived its name from the fact that it was the meeting place of three rivers—the Swarawati on the right bank of the Hooghly, the Hooghly itself and the third river the Jabuna. The Jabuna fulfils the same pestilential role in the south of the district as the Bhairab does further north. A scheme has matured for its reclamation.

There remain only those offshoots of the Padma which flow on the extreme

east of the district. They are in a different category from the rivers already dealt with. The Gorai takes off from the Padma near Kushtia, it passes into Faridpur and flows in the east of Jessore district where it is known as the Madhumati. Its condition is said to have been improving since the construction of the Hardinge Bridge at Sara. The Kaliganga takes off from the Gorai just below the effluence of the latter from the Padma. It flows between Kushtia and Kumarkhali police-stations. Between the Kaliganga and the Gorai there is a third river called the Dakira. It flows through Kumarkhali police-station parallel with the Kaliganga.

The river system being still active on the east of the district, the bils on the south of Kushtia police-station are properly drained. The fields receive a deposit of silt. But the flood waters do not penetrate beyond the outskirts of Alamdanga police-station.

8. **The country.**—The banks of the "Nadia rivers" are higher than the surrounding country. The drainage is therefore away from rather than into these rivers. In every police-station there are several drainage basins, small bils that is, which catch up the rain water from the surrounding country. They are of the nature already described. Ten of them are of considerable size. The greatest degree of continuity in the line of such basins is found on the borders of Tehatta and Meherpur police-stations. The line passes into the east side of, Chapra police-station and embraces the west and southern part of Damurhuda police-station.

There are fewer of the depressions in Kaliganj and Nakashipara police-stations. A great part of Kaliganj and nearly the whole of Nakashipara is composed of high sandy land, very sterile. The north part of Krishnanagar police-station is of a like character and this sterile tract is continued across the Jellanghi to the south-west part of Chapra. There are villages on the north and east of Meherpur and the west side of Gangni similar in character. This land is what is called *uthit patit*, that is, it is not cultivated every year. The custom is for it to be cropped for 3 years and then left fallow for another 3 years. Lands of this nature become progressively rarer as we move towards the north-east corner of the district and are non-existent in Kushtia police-station and the areas east of it.

The *uthit patit* land is ordinarily cultivated or left fallow in blocks. In this way compact and often extensive grazing grounds are available for cattle during the following periods. The aspect of the country in an *uthit patit* area is not unpleasing. It presents the appearance of a sort of wide park dotted about with *babla* and date palm trees.

North of a line drawn across the district map from the north-west corner of police-station Santipur to the south-east corner of Chuadanga the appearance of the country is rather uniform. The high *uthit patit* tracts of land alternate with the still high, but sufficiently fertile, *aus* lands and the one crop depressions which yield broadcast *amon* paddy alone. I have already said that *uthit patit* progressively diminishes towards the east.

In this area the village sites stand segregated amid large open expanses of culturable land.

In the cold and hot weather months the humidity is comparatively low, and though the heat in April and May becomes intense in the day time, the nights remain comparatively cool.

The sandy nature of much of the soil seems to induce a sort of mirage. The village sites in the cold and hot weather months appear from a distance like so many islands. In May particularly in the northern parts a scorching wind blows from the north-west like the up-country "Loo".

The monsoon sets in about the third week of June and is preceded as in other parts of Bengal by rain storms at intervals during the latter part of April and the whole of May. But these storms are less frequent and less violent than the corresponding storms in Eastern Bengal. South of the line already referred to, the country is not so open, and there is no *uthit patit* system. That does not mean that culturable land is not left fallow. The statistics show that leaving out of account the relatively fertile areas of Mirpur, Alamdanga, Kushtia, Kumarkhali and Khoksha on the east, 33 per cent. of the total areas of the land north of the line is culturable fallow and 23 per cent. south of the line. But whereas of the 33 per cent. three-sevenths, is current fallow only three-tenths of the 23 per cent. is so. In fact the absence of the *uthit patit* system in the southern area is capable of visual demonstration. The fallow areas where they occur do

not as in the north lie in compact blocks, but are scattered among the cultivated fields.

Certainly the incidence of a large proportion of culturable fallow on the north of the line is to be accounted for by the infertility of the soil. This does not appear to be the reason in the south. The land is not so sandy there and some of it at any rate is very fertile. The reason of the existence of fallow in the south seems to be rather that there is more land than people. That factor is operative in the north but in the north it is not the only operative factor. In the south I believe that it is.

In the south, the country is not so open. I have no separate figures to show the fluctuations in the population separately in the south since 1871. I have given my reasons for believing that this part of the district was once more thickly populated than it is now. The village sites which are full of deserted homesteads, many of them pretentious enough in design, seem to point to no other conclusion. The climate is less pleasant than in the north. It is more humid and the frequent jungles obstruct the passage of the wind. The density of the jungles which have grown up round some of the more or less deserted villages, is really astonishing. In one village in Haringhata police-station I remember that it was so dark in the middle of a cold weather day that one could scarcely see to read the map.

9. **The villages.**—Throughout the district the homesteads are very congested. Even in the north part where there are large expanses of open field the homestead area is just as congested as in the south. The houses are built of mud or sometimes mud smeared over a frame work of bamboo. They are surrounded with jungles and bamboos. In every homestead there are ditches from which the earth has been dug to make the house. And one homestead is so close to another that survey was very difficult. Frequently no independent partial line could be drawn. The Amin's chain lines, usually tracked with great labour through the undergrowth, had simply to be re-run. Parts of the homestead area had in many cases to be enlarged and separately shown in the final maps. Owing to the custom of letting large herds of cattle graze

together in charge of one small boy and their indiscriminate release at night, the fields in the immediate vicinity of the homesteads are usually fenced round with split bamboos. For it is in these fields that the special crops such as turmeric or chillies are grown. Villagers' help was required to show the way into a village through this labyrinth of fences.

The houses have no windows. Every endeavour seems to be made to keep the sun and the fresh air out.

Tanks are uncommon. Owing to the sandy nature of much of the soil, the subsoil water is at a great depth. Such tanks as exist dry up in the hot weather. They are never kept clear and when they contain water, they are used for miscellaneous purposes. They are nearly always thickly overgrown with rank vegetation.

Wells are more in use, but they also tend to dry up in the hot weather. At that time the people suffer severely from lack of drinking water: not of lack of good drinking water only which is always scarce but of any sort of water at all. Any sort of good accumulation of muddy water in the dobas surrounding the homesteads or in the stagnant and smelling khals has got to serve.

The insanitary surroundings of the people are rendered more insanitary by their unclean habits. The district is badly supplied with doctors and dispensaries but even if there were plenty of both, it is doubtful whether in the absence of a complete revolution in the people's way of life, they would avail much.

10. **The climate.**—The climate of the district is notoriously bad. It is difficult to single out one part as better in this respect or as worse than any other. Towards the north-east however, Alamdanga and Kushtia police-stations are probably more healthy than the other parts. The trouble is that once an epidemic starts, it spreads like wild fire. The homesteads being so congested and the habits of the people being what they are, all the conditions are present for the rapid spread of infection.

The Fever Commission of 1881-82 appointed to report on the causes of the Burdwan fever tried to start a jungle cutting campaign for the clearance of

débris round the homesteads, the existence of which was held to be one of the main causes of the disease. The health of the district was again discussed by the Drainage Committee of 1906-07. But the district is, as it was, impervious to outside influences, and visited by periodic epidemics, the only means of mitigating which are in the opinion of the inhabitants Hindus and Mohammedans alike, to dance and sing songs to Kali round a "Bot" tree. The mortality in the district caused by the influenza epidemic of 1918-19 was something dreadful. During one morning I counted in the course of a few hours the passage of over 50 dead bodies along a road not particularly frequented and not passing through any specially populated parts. "Double Pneumonia" has become part of the vernacular.

Besides malaria which from the latter part of the rains until the end of the cold weather is in evidence, cholera epidemics of varying intensity usually break out at the beginning of the hot weather in some part or other of the district. This is due to the shortage of water. Segregation of cholera patients is impossible, the clothes they wear are washed in the pool from which surrounding house holders draw their water. The habit, which has grown up among the Hindus of the district of disposing of their dead by throwing the bodies into adjacent bils and khals, is both repugnant to one's feelings of propriety and prejudicial to the public health. The prevalence of hook-worm has been suggested. The causes of this disease so far as they have been ascertained would seem by their presence amply to justify the suggestion.

11. **The rainfall.**—The annual rainfall is said to average 51·7 inches for the district as a whole. It is heavier in the southern than in the northern parts and heaviest of all on the extreme east.

The average distribution is as follows:—

May	...	6·5
June	...	9·7
July	...	10·5
August	...	11·3
September	...	8·1
October	...	4·1
November to April	...	6·8

The distribution of the rainfall is of infinitely greater importance than its volume. Thus early rain is essential. The district unlike most districts in Bengal depends on the *aus* crop as the most important rice crop. For this early ploughing and sowing is necessary: and that is not possible without sufficient rain in April and May. Rain in June is not so necessary. But abundant rain in July when the crop is coming into ear is most important. On the other hand rain in March is apt to prove disastrous to the *rabi* crops which constitute the most important exports of the district. Agriculture is totally dependent on the rainfall. Artificial irrigation is practically unknown. It is resorted to occasionally to foster the growth of special crops such as sugarcane.

Chapter III.—Social and economic organization of the district.

12. **Communications.**—The main line of the Eastern Bengal Railway enters the district first beyond Kanchrapara and runs as far as Poradaha junction in a north-easterly direction parallel to the southern boundary of the district. Turning north at Poradaha it makes for the Hardinge Bridge over the Padma near Bheramara. The main line throws off three branches, two at Ranaghat and one at Poradaha. From Ranaghat one branch runs north-west through Krishnagar, traverses Nakashipara and Kaliganj police-stations and enters the Murshidabad district just beyond the historic battlefield of Plassey. It runs into Lalgola Ghat and Kathihar. The second branch line from Ranaghat runs south-east to Bongong junction in Jessore. Only about 7 miles of this line lie within the Nadia district. From Poradaha the Goalundo branch continues in the direction of the main line before it turns to the north at Poradaha and passing through Kushtia, Kumarkhali and Khoksha enters the Faridpur district some 2½ miles beyond the last named station. There is in addition a circular light railway linking up Ranaghat, Santipur, Krishnagar and Nabadwip.

As the rivers are of little use as means of communication, the communications of the district are based on this railway system. The heart of the district Chapra, the greater part of Damurhuda,

Tehatta, Meherpur, Gangni and Daulatpur police-stations lie off the railway. But there is a regular net work of roads linking up these areas with one or other of the railway lines. A main road from Krishnagar to Meherpur throws off at Chapra a branch to Tehatta and further north another to the northern part of Damurhuda police-station. Tehatta again is connected both with Meherpur and with the Lalgola branch of the railway line at Debagram and on from there with Katwa in Burdwan. The branch going into Damurhuda police-station joins at Kapasdanga, another main road which links up Meherpur with the main branch of the railway line at Darsana. Meherpur in the centre of the district is also the centre of the road system of the interior of the district lying away from the railway lines. In addition to the roads already mentioned as leading to Meherpur, Meherpur is connected with the main branch of the railway line at Chuadanga by a metalled road. This road is continued west through Tehatta police-station crossing the Jellanghi at Palashipara. It traverses the Kalantar and debouches on the Lalgola branch line at Plassey station. The part of the road which lies west of Meherpur is not metalled nor are any of the other roads mentioned metalled except the Meherpur-Chuadanga road.

Starting again from Meherpur there is an important road which passes north touching the western extremity of Gangni police-station and intersecting at Natna another main road. This other road runs right across the north part of the district. It starts from Bheramara Railway Station on the main branch of the Eastern Bengal Railway on the east and proceeds west through the centre of Daulatpur police-station. It crosses the Mathabhanga near Baruipara (Shikarpur) and continues through Karimpur police-station to the river Jellanghi on the north-west extremity of the district. Only the first 2 miles of this road immediately west of Bheramara have been metalled. The road from Meherpur to Natna proceeding north from the point of its intersection with the Bheramara-Karimpur road passes across the Jellanghi river into Murshidabad district at Alaipur. From that point there is road connexion with the district town of Berhampore.

Returning once more to Meherpur, there is another road which goes to Gangni. It is connected by a cross road

with the road from Meherpur to Natna. There are besides innumerable roads of lesser importance as well as village tracks along which bullock carts in the cold weather can pass.

The roads being all unmetalled with the one exception serve as adequate means of communication in the cold and hot weather and have to be used in the rains. But their use in the rains is attended with difficulty. They get churned up and go deep in mud. Not all of them are a pleasant means of communication even in the cold and hot seasons. Traffic is entirely by bullock cart and is often heavy. These bullock carts cut deep ruts in the road. The system of maintenance in vogue is to scatter undressed clods of earth over the surface. These are left to be assimilated into the body of the road by mere lapse of time and the attrition of the stream of traffic passing over it. Though the system of ferry ghats is on the whole good, the bridging where it exists is often neglected. The road between Meherpur and Plassey is a high embanked road. Both this road and the Tehatta-Katwa road are said to have been first constructed as famine relief works in 1897. These roads are the only roads connecting the Kalantar with the railway. The Kalantar is a comparatively fertile area and its potential exports considerable. It would be of material service to the economic development of the district if the Meherpur-Plassey road could be properly maintained and rendered workable throughout the year. Karimpur also is badly served with roads. Its existing road communications with Berhampore are unsatisfactory and it lies some 24 miles away from the railway line. The absence of good communication within Karimpur police-station is said to have discouraged the cultivation of special crops for export. Leaving aside certain bil areas in Chapra and Damurhuda the inaccessibility of which is incurable, it is a matter of regret that the east side of Gangni police-station and the south side of Daulatpur police-station cannot be more efficiently linked up with the existing chain of communications. There is a most imposing looking road running north-west from Alampur Railway Station to Hat Boalia, the bifurcation point of the river Matabhanga. The embankment of that road is higher than the railway embankment. It was originally built by Mr. T. Kenny, the Indigo planter at Bamundi in Gangni. From

Hat Boalia the road sends off two branches, one going south-west to Gangni itself and the other going north of Bamundi. There is also a road running direct from Bamundi to Gangni. These roads traverse a part of the country remote from the railway and for most of the year are dependent on them for communication with the outside world. The land for the roads between Hat Boalia and Gangni, and Bamundi and Gangni respectively is the free gift of the land-owners. But they are not kept up. Even in the cold weather they are used with difficulty. It is a thousand pities that they are not put into good order and kept there. Export trade has to wait for the opening of the river Mata-bhanga with the advent of the rains.

In areas already served by Railway lines the function of the roads generally is to act as feeders to the railway. There is a road which runs parallel to the railway line from south to north of the district. This is the old Imperial Road connecting Murshidabad with Calcutta. It is unmetalled. Whereas in the old days troops would march up from Calcutta to Murshidabad, to-day herds of cattle march down it to the slaughter houses of Calcutta. A metalled road connects Krishnagar with Swarupganj the ghat for Nabadwip. This is an important road, as the incidence of pilgrim traffic is heavy. Another metalled road connects Krishnagar with Santipur and Santipur again with Ranaghat. Another metalled road runs from Krishnagar to Bagula in Hanskhali police station. This road has now lost its importance and is not kept in proper repair. But before the construction of the Lalgola branch of the Eastern Bengal Railway when Bagula was the station for Krishnagar and Nabadwip it was an important road. An old road connecting the Capital with Sibnibash constructed in the days when the Rajas of Nadia spent part of the year at Sibnibash is now more or less obliterated.

I have dealt above with the road system leading from the railways into the district. The roads leading outwards are not of such great importance. A metalled road leads from Chakdaha to Bongong. It was constructed by Kaliprosad Poddar of Jessore to facilitate the journey of his old mother to the banks of the Bhagirathi. Another

metalled road leads from Majdia Station in Krishnaganj police-station to Kotechandpur in Jessore. A third metalled road leads from Chuadanga to Jhenida.

All these three metalled roads are important in connexion with the trade in *gur* prepared from the juice of the date palm. The manufacture of this sort of *gur* forms an important item of export in the east side of the district.

The other parts of the district lying within reasonable distance of the railway are sufficiently well served with feeder roads of minor importance which need not be enumerated here. The south of Kushtia police-station alone is rather inaccessible by land. It is low-lying, but trade does not suffer as the khals and rivers on this side are active.

For its multiplicity of roads, particularly in the heart of the district remote from the railway line where they are most required, Nadia has to thank the indigo planters. The indigo crops were brought into the out factories and from there into the main factories by means of carts.

In the interior of the district carts are the universal means of transport. They are drawn either by bullocks or by buffaloes, but the latter are preferred as their rate of progress is more rapid. When it holds passengers, the bullock cart is covered with a mat roofing.

Well-to-do folk have converted the bullock cart into a comfortable coach known as the "Shampane". This is of decent appearance, fitted with doors and windows in which its occupants can sit or lie down in comfort.

13. Town and Population.—There are 9 municipalities in Nadia. The urban population is $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole compared with the average of 5 per cent. for rural Bengal as a whole—that is, Bengal excluding Calcutta. 32·6 per cent. of the population derives its livelihood from pursuits other than those directly connected with agriculture. This is a bigger proportion than any other district of Bengal can show except Howrah, Hooghly, the 24-Parganas and Burdwan.

These figures would suggest that Nadia like those other districts is suburban in character and that the proximity of Calcutta has partially urbanized and industrialized Nadia.

Such an inference would in my opinion be misleading and the figures so far as they encourage the inference are deceptive.

In the first place most of the municipalities except Krishnagar belong to that category of towns of which the last Census Superintendent remarked that the tendency towards decay is steady and progressive. Krishnagar is an administrative headquarter. Even so, its population is decreasing. None of the other municipalities are either administrative headquarters or industrial centres. With the exception of Nabadwip, whose religious vitality seems to grow rather than to decrease, and Kushtia and Kumarkhali which are stationary, all the other municipalities have become reduced in population in the last decade. The total decline in the urban population of the district since 1872 is just 10 per cent. These municipalities are rather tributes to their past than to their present importance.

Krishnagar the capital is not called after the famous Raja Krishna Chandra, but after Sri Krishna, the son of Bhabananda, the founder of the family fortunes. Bhabananda's nephew Rajhat removed the family headquarters to Krishnagar, formerly called Rewi. Being an administrative, educational and medical headquarters, the town still exhibits a certain life in its business quarters. But the old residential area in mauzahs Krishnagar and Ghurni has become decrepid and jungly.

In Ghurni within the Krishnagar Municipality there are 12 families of clay modellers who have earned far more than local reputation. Indu Nath Pal, the best known modeller, has exhibited in Europe. He is in possession of a certificate granted to him at the Paris Exhibition of 1900 and another from Queen Victoria.

Santipur has still the largest population of the towns in Nadia, though it is declining. In the days of the East India Company it was noted for its manufacture of fine cloth and muslin. It was until 1828, the seat of a commercial residency, where £150,000 worth of cotton cloth was annually purchased for the European market. From 1813 the industry began to decline. Weaving is still the chief industry of Santipur. Its products are noted for their

borders. A peculiarity of the conditions under which its weaving is now carried on is that the people occupied therein are drawn from every class. Many Brahmins in Santipur are weavers. Its prosperity has been adversely affected by the recession of the river Bhagirathi.

The periodic return to their district of a professional *bhadralok* class whose callings have taken them to other parts of Bengal and of India does a good deal to quicken the intellectual vitality of rural Bengal. I emphasised at the beginning of this report the conservatism and self-sufficiency of Nadia and its inaccessibility to the march of outside events, and the play of outside influences. This is largely due to the absence of a class of this kind. The *bhadralok* population of Nadia is not large and it is stay at home. Most of the upper class men have land which produces just enough to maintain them. They prefer a lower standard of life at home to seeking employment and fortune abroad. They don't "go in for" education to the same extent as is usual with their class in other districts.

But an exception must be made in respect of Santipur and in a less degree in respect of Krishnagar. In both these places, there is a large *bhadralok* population which is employed in Calcutta during the week and returns home at the week-ends.

Ranaghat is not a new town, but what vitality it retains is almost entirely due to its importance as a railway centre. It is shown in Rennell's map. The tradition is that Rana, a celebrated dacoit of the 18th century, made it his headquarters, and has given it his name. A trader called Krishna Patni whose career synchronized with the establishment of British predominance in Bengal, built his palace there. On the disruption of the Nadia Raj at the permanent settlement he acquired and purchased extensive landed property. The title of Chaudhury was conferred upon him by Raja Shib Chandra of Nadia. He refused the title of Raja offered to him by the Marquis of Hastings when the latter visited Ranaghat. Litigation protracted from 1821 to 1850 in connexion with the disposal of Krishna Kanta's property after his death crippled the family fortune. The

Pal Chaudhuries of Ranaghat as his descendants are called are still held in high esteem, but their property is passing into other hands. The imposing family residences in Ranaghat are decaying.

Nabadwip is *sui generis*. The Census Superintendent has expressed an opinion that its increase in population in the last decade of about 3,000 is more apparent than real as the last census was taken at a date nearer to one of the festivals than usual.

Birnagar and Chakdaha are of the same type with each other. They were once important *bhadralok* villages. They were created municipalities in days nearer to their prosperity than the present. They are both very jungly and very thinly populated and exhibited in tabloid form the indications common to Ranaghat subdivision as a whole of having once been the homes of a flourishing upper class population.

Meherpur owns its importance to the location there of a subdivisional headquarters. It is really rural in character. In the indigo days it was an important administrative charge. The municipality does not provide even a conservancy establishment.

Kushtia lay outside the area during this settlement. It has declined in the last 50 years, though the recent census shows a slight increase within the last decade. The Mohini Cotton Mills and Renwick's factory of sugar presses give Kushtia a more industrial character than the other municipalities of the district.

Kumarkhali used to be an important place. It is shown prominently in Rennell's map. There is an old European cemetery there. In the East India Company's days it was a sericultural centre. It has declined since 1872 but its population seems now to be stationary. The recession of the river Gorai has affected its health. It is now however becoming an important mart for the sale of the coarse cloths which are turned out in large numbers by the weavers of this part of the country. There is a Dyeing Industry at Kumarkhali and the thread locally woven is locally dyed. The high price of cloth consequent on the war and the recent non-co-operation movement have given a great impetus to the indigenous weaving. Marwaris have entered the lists

at Alamdanga and are offering facilities to the local weavers for the supply of yarn.

It would thus appear that the existence in Nadia of a relatively large urban population is not due to the district or any part of the district being an industrial suburb of Calcutta or anything approaching to it. It is due to the accident of a classification based not on the facts of the present but on the conditions of the past. The export of the district such as these are, are not the manufactured products of the "towns" but the fruit of the soil in the distribution of which the towns are not even important as centres.

14. Exports, imports and population.—As regards the relatively large percentage of the population following pursuits other than agriculture, that again is but another aspect of the self-sufficiency of the district. It has been calculated that whereas the districts of Eastern Bengal have to import anything from 3·6 per cent. to 36 per cent. of their food-stuffs (Major Jack at page 33 of the Final Report of Faridpur places the percentage of imported rice in the case of that district as much as 41 per cent., an estimate which differs considerably from the 14 per cent. of the Census Superintendent), there should be a surplus of 4·3 per cent. of the food crops available for export from Nadia.

However that may be, Nadia does not grow enough rice for the requirements of her population. The estimate of imported rice used to be 1½ million maunds each year. It would appear that that is rather an under-estimate and 2 million maunds would be more correct. 1,011,940 acres or 57 per cent. of the total area of the district is under rice. The percentage of 53·13 per cent. given on page 14 of the Census Report, 1921, was worked out before the complete figures collected during these operations were available. If we take 9 maunds of rice as the average yield in the district from an acre of land, the total paddy crop of Nadia will yield 910,700 maunds of rice. The annual requirements in rice for the whole district population at 7½ maunds per person per year (25 seers a month or 5/6ths of a seer each day) would be 11,156,730 maunds of rice. But Nadia pays for that mainly by the export of *rabi* crops. These cover 32 per cent. of

the total area of the district. Taking one acre under *rabi* crops as equivalent in the value of its yield to half an acre under rice, we find that the value of her *rabi* crops will almost exactly pay for the extra rice required. 589,319 acres *rabi* crops equals 294,660 acres rice, which equals 2,651,940 maunds of rice. About 2 million maunds imported rice is required. There would therefore be an excess of exports over imports. But by no means the whole of the *rabi* crops is available for export. The amount consumed within the district has to be deducted. On the other side fruit, betel leaves and other special crops are available for export besides *rabi* crops.

I think the result would be that Nadia just about pays for her import of rice by the export of her miscellaneous products, and neither one or the other assume the vast proportions characteristic of Eastern Bengal where the cultivation of jute has given a twist to the whole economic structure of that part of the country.

Such being the case, it follows that the other needs of the population of the district must be supplied from within the district itself. And this is indeed what happens. The import of foreign articles of luxury or *quasi*-luxury such as Lancashire cloth, shoes, cigarettes, brass utensils and corrugated iron is severely restricted. This fact has led to the employment within the district of a large number of people who are engaged within the district in supplying the needs of the district. This fact explains the fairly large proportion of non-agricultural workers whose constituents will be considered later. And it has helped to give to Nadia its curiously esoteric self-contained character.

As regards the population, the last census has revealed a decrease since 1911 of 8 per cent. The decrease has fallen heaviest in the Meherpur and Chuadanga subdivisions. The result as we have it to-day is that each division of the district discloses a relatively uniform density of population with the exception of Kushtia where the conditions approximate to those obtaining in Eastern Bengal. Nakashipara and Jibannagar police-stations are the most thinly populated parts, the incidence of population in these two police-stations falling below 400 to the square mile.

Sixty per cent. of the population are Mohammedans and 30 per cent. Hindus. The proportion of Mohammedans is greater in the north and east of the district. Ranaghat subdivision retains its Hindu predominance and in Krishnagar the followers of the two religions are about equal in number. In Meherpur and Chuadanga subdivisions the Mohammedans outnumber the Hindus by 50 per cent. and in Kushtia by 25 per cent.

The decline in the population in the last decade has affected both communities equally. This means that the proportionate decrease of the Hindus has been greater. The Census Superintendent of 1911 remarked on this phenomenon. He attributed it to the more nutritious diet of the Mohammedans and to the greater frequency of remarriage of Mohammedan widows.

As is usual the Hindus form the bulk of the urban population, of which they compose 75 per cent.

In this time of communal discord, the relations subsisting between the two great communities in Nadia are usually satisfactory. But as a set-off to that, it must be confessed that the Mohammedans have lost a great deal of their individuality. They are not punctilious in their religious observance. Few pray even on Friday. Few keep the Ramjan, though all are ready to join in the feast at the end. They do not wear caps and in dress are indistinguishable from their Hindu brothers. Their nomenclature also makes distinction difficult. The title name is usually Mandal except when a man learns to read and write; he then assumes the title of Biswas or Sirkar. Among the Mohammedans of the district, names such as Akshay Mandal, Dasarath Biswas, Rajendra Biswas, Krishna or Ram are common, and their women may bear the names of Nistarini Bibi, Raj Rajeswari or Taranigini. The Nadia Mohammedans do not sacrifice the cow and most of them regard the eating of beef with repulsion. They sacrifice goats and let the hair of their children grow long in the name of a god or goddess. They respect the Hindu saints and their women folk will join with Hindu women in dancing and singing round a "Bot" tree, a proceeding believed to be efficacious against epidemics. There are sub-castes among the Mohammedans with whom the main body of the community will neither eat nor intermarry. There are the Subjis

who deal in vegetables, the Johalas as Mohammedan weavers are called, and the Dais.

There are two sub-sects however both in Karimpur police-station who are made of sterner stuff. One is the La-Muzhabhi sect of the revivalist type. This sect refuses to acknowledge any one as a Prophet except Mohamet only. They are strict in their religious observances. The other sub-class is the Pathans. They are said to be descendants of the Moghal garrison in Bengal. They do not cultivate the land themselves but are otherwise distinguishable from other Mohammedans only by their turbulence.

I have never met with a satisfactory explanation of the loss of sectarian individualism among the Nadia Mohammedans. The explanation offered that they are recent converts to Islam, who never became deeply imbued with religious fervour is hardly satisfactory. It is probable that conversion to Islam in this district is anterior to conversion in Eastern Bengal; that in Nadia the Afghans were the promulgators of the faith, whereas on the east it was the Moghals. Another explanation is that the influence of Chaitanya brought the two communities together. This teaching applied to both alike and its basis was the universal brotherhood of mankind.

Of the Hindus by far the most important caste is the Maheshya or Chasi Kaibarta. This caste rose to importance in the indigo days. Employed excessively by the planters they grew rich under their patronage. There are three important land-owning Maheshya families in Nadia to-day, the Biswas of Bholadanga, Bhowanipur and Kola. In each case service under the planters was the foundation of their prosperity and the landed interests they hold used to belong to planters. The Maheshyas outnumber any other caste. They are a shrewd self-seeking and often unscrupulous people; a good many are now engaged in the learned professions. As cultivators, they are assiduous and competent.

The planter's saying "Keot Mangta, Keyot ne Mangta" [Keots (Kaibartas) wanted, not Keyots (Kayasthas)] has become proverbial.

Numerically the next caste in importance is the Goala. They were imported

as lathials in the days when the Nadia Raj had to defend itself. They are tougher physically than most of the inhabitants of Nadia and such crimes of organised violence as take place are usually attributed to members of this caste. Most of them are cultivators who supplement what they get by agriculture by the preparation and sale of preparations of milk. A good deal of this is taken into Calcutta by train daily—an exception to the general rule that the district does not look to the metropolis. The statistics show that 27,296 persons (including their dependents) in the district are butter, cheese or ghee makers. These will all be Goalas. This industry employs more persons in the district than any other single industry except ceramics.

In point of numbers the Brahmins come next but in social position and influence they stand first. They are numerous in the Ranaghat subdivision and in the south part of Krishnagar subdivision but rare in the centre of the district. They are therefore most frequent even to-day in those parts where the influence of the house of Nadia was strongest. The Raj family has always been noted for its patronage of Brahmins. Raja Krishna Chandra Rai was munificent in the extent of his donations to them. He is said to have granted more than 80,000 sanads, and the saying in the district is that any Brahmin whose house is not on rent-free land granted by Krishna Chandra is no true Brahmin at all. During the settlement operations many such sanads were produced purporting to bear Krishna Chandra's signature the easy sweep of which is supposed to be an indication of the signator's breadth of mind. The multiplicity of the tenures alleged to have been created under a rent-free title of this kind has been a source of constant irritation to auction purchasers of estates which used to form part of the Nadia zemindari. Mr. Bipradas Pal Chaudhury brought a suit for a declaration that some lands in Santipur alleged to be so held falling within estate No. 477 of the Nadia collectorate were assessable to rent and the case was fought up to the Privy Council and has now become classic. In respect of many of these rent-free tenures, the Maharajahs of Nadia are still in receipt of landlords' fees long after the estates of which they form part have passed out of

their hands. This fact formed the subject of a rather interesting dispute during attestation.

The Muchis, Namasudras and Kayasthas come next in approximately equal strength.

There is a large class which in the census returns must be grouped with the "others". These are aborigines imported from Hazaribagh and Santhal Parganas to work as labourers in the manufacture of indigo. They have settled in the district and both cultivate their own land and eke out their livelihood also by labour, fishing and miscellaneous work such as carrying palanquins. Their tendency is to become assimilated in habits to the rest of the population, but they retain their fondness for strong drink and hunting. They often go out armed with spears and followed by their dogs, after wild pig, hares and even leopards. The name they go under in the district is "Buna", but that is rather a general name which embraces Ghatwals, Santhals, Rajbansis and Bagdis.

Though Christians number less than 1 per cent. of the total population, there are more of them to be found in Nadia than in any other district of Bengal except the 24-Parganas, Jalpaiguri and Dacca. Missionary activities are said to have begun in the district in 1842 when the Rev. Mr. Deare of the Church of England reported that here was a favourable field for Mission work. At that time there was a religious sect called Kartabhaja, worshippers of an unknown "Karta". They were ready converts to the Christian faith believing that that was offering them the master they were looking for. Mr. Deare's appeal for assistance from home did not meet with a prompt response in England, but Germany sent out 11 Missionaries. These Missionaries tended to side with the Indian during the indigo disturbances of 1860 and some planters looking back, see in that fact traces of a deep laid conspiracy to sap the prosperity of the English Indigo Dye Industry. However that may be, Christian influence is much greater than the numbers of Christians would suggest. The Church Missionary Society and Zenana Mission have provided well run dispensaries at Krishnagar, Ranaghat, Shikarpur in Karimpur police-station and Ratanpur in police-station Meherpur. The Mission Doctors

particularly at Ranaghat gave most generous help to our staff during the great influenza epidemic of 1918-19 and I take this opportunity of acknowledging our indebtedness to them. Every Protestant Christian boy and girl is taught to read and write in the vernacular. This accomplishment in a district where literacy is so rare as in Nadia is enough by itself to mark out the Protestant community. There is also an active Roman Catholic Mission whose members are mostly Italian. Their method of procedure is rather different from the Protestant.

Protestants set value on education and on the equipping of the young with a training sometimes technical of a kind likely to be useful to them in life. The Roman Catholics on the other hand take the people as they find them and try to promote their interests along existing lines. They lend money at easy rates of interest and sometimes collect and pay in the rent of their proselytes for them to the landlord so that a clear account is obtained and arrears and abwabs avoided. Both Churches have drawn most of their converts from among the Mohammedans, a fact which is rather contrary to Missionary experience in other parts of Bengal.

15. **Artisans.**—68·6 per cent. of the population derives its livelihood from agriculture. Of the non-cultivators, those connected with food industries are the most numerous. Of the food products milk preparations are the more important. They have been mentioned before. They absorb more than two-thirds of the total number of persons engaged in food industries. Nadia is also the second biggest sweet producing district.

Ceramics come next, employing nearly 31,000 persons. Of these nearly 20,000 are shown as engaged in brick making. Brick works sprang up like mushrooms in the south of the district in 1921 and 1922 and are passing away with equal suddenness. The high price of bricks was the cause. Apart from this the potter is a regular and useful element in the rural economy. Earthenware utensils are more in use in the district than utensils of brass. The heavy export of *gur* in earthen pots in the cold weather provides an additional market for his labour. Shoe-making (23,348), textiles (21,634), fishing (21,574), carpentry (17,651) and metal work (10,988)

are other important non-agricultural callings. Except the last, they cater for the local market only. The Muchis are always badly off. But weavers are doing well. Though looked down upon by the cultivators they are nearly always better off. They are commonest in the north and east of the district. They will weave 10 annas worth of yarn into a lungi which will fetch Re. 1-12. Carpenters are in good demand. Not only for the fashioning and repair of the ordinary implements of agriculture but to make and renew wheels for the indispensable bullock cart. The wheels are made from the *babla* trees which abound in the district. One tree will cost Rs. 2 but a complete pair of wheels will fetch Rs. 16 to Rs. 20. Metal work is not in much demand within the district. Its manufacture is not diffused. But in one village called Matiari in Kaliganj police-station every house is a workshop. The village turns out 3 lacs worth of metalware annually.

16. **Trade.**—The bulk of the trade in the district is in food-stuffs. Dealers in betel leaf, vegetables and fruit are about equal in number to dealers in grain and pulse, and as regards the number so employed Nadia comes fifth among the districts of the province.

Of the non-agricultural population so far as it has already been dealt with it may be said that it is in rather better economic condition than the bulk of the cultivators. Traders particularly are nearly always well off. In the interior of the district they are nearly all monopolists. They buy cheap and sell dear. They keep their clientèle because most of them are in their debt. They are scattered over the country. The system of *hâts* is not so much in vogue as in other parts of Bengal. Whereas in Nadia there is on an average one *hât* in an area of 14 miles, the average incidence of *hâts* in Eastern Bengal is 1 to 6 or 7 miles. Moreover most of the Nadia *hâts* are very small affairs, centres of distribution for the most ordinary necessities of life. They are not used as export channels except of *gur*. In most villages there is a permanent grocer's shop. The former is usually the purchaser of surplus agrarian produce and the first link on the distribution chain. He is also the local "Mahajan". Loans in Nadia are as often as not made in kind.

The system is known as *barkhi*. The cultivator will borrow rice in Joysta or Baisak and repay after the harvesting of the *aus*. He has to repay with 50 per cent interest. The interest is added to the principal in case of non-payment on the due date. There is no abatement on repayment before the due date. These small local Mahajans forward the stuff to other dealers near or nearer to the railway. The cultivator suffers through the multiplicity of middlemen. On the other hand such middlemen though usually comfortably off do not often make the large fortunes that the money-lenders of Eastern Bengal frequently amass. The system of the small local Mahajans is perhaps not bad. Unfortunately some of the bigger landlords also deal in grain. When the two functions are combined, the usual result is the progressive expropriation of the cultivating classes. This unhealthy feature has appeared in Alamdanga and Mirpur subdivisions and also in parts of Tehatta, Meherpur, Chapra, and Damurhuda, and in the latter areas accounts for such instances as we met, of raiyati holdings being split up and leased out under the system of Utbandi.

The class of village servant is not so well off. This comprises the barber, midwife and dhobi. They often hold a little chakran land. To give out chakran land in this way is rather a mark of social standing. Chakran or *quasi-chakran* leases are frequently granted by the bigger men in consideration of a variety of social services rendered or to be rendered. The malis who bring flowers on Pujah days, the Karmakars who slaughter the goats, palanquin bearers and boatmen are all recompensed in this way. But the social servant in Nadia is not well off. Though he may have some chakran land, the villagers usually pay him in kind by doles of rice. His condition is decidedly inferior to that of the artisan or the average cultivator.

17. **Classes depending on the land.**—To turn now to the classes who derive their livelihood from the land. Nadia is a district of big landlords. The condition of them is usually good. The sharp contrast between the substantial residence of the landlord and the miserable hovels of his tenants cannot fail to impress.

Then there comes the resident *bhadralok*. It has already been remarked that the Nadia *bhadralok* is staying at

home. He always has land, often small rents-free holdings. Whatever land he has he prefers to keep in his direct possession if he can. He cultivates the land by hired labour or by letting out in *bhag*. He supplies the price of half the seeds. The *bhagdar* in Nadia never considers himself or is considered as anything but a hired labourer. The high price of food-stuffs consequent on the European war led to an increase of the area brought under the plough. More *bhadrals* took up direct cultivation and more of it. Latterly there has been a tendency for them towards the *bhag* system. They found themselves incapable of exercising proper supervision over the labourers.

The Nadia *bhadrals* live a very simple life and judged by that standard he is not too badly off. Educational facilities in the district are bad, with the result that he is not often well equipped for a literary or clerical vocation. He will live in a brick built house, containing a few chairs, a plank *taktaposh* and a table or two; some good utensils handed down from generation to generation; each generation adding their quota so that in time the stock becomes big.

18. The cultivator's economic condition.—In Volume V, Part 1, of the Census of India Report, 1921, there are figures given which would go to show that the cultivators of Nadia and Jessore are better off than the cultivators of any other district in Bengal. I am unable to criticize the elaborate calculation by which this result is arrived at, but it is not in accordance with appearances. I am ready to admit that the Nadia cultivator is probably not so miserably poor as he appears. Though the land is not fertile, the extent of culturable fallow perhaps is as much due to the limitations of the requirements of the cultivators as the limitations of the productivity of the soil. At any rate more land is brought under cultivation in adjustment to the rise in prices and the cost of living. The post-war period of high prices had this automatic reaction. Land whose nature was supposed to require periodic fallowing was brought under the plough every year. This phenomenon of increased pressure on the soil led many of us to anticipate that the census figures would have shown an increase and not a decrease in the population. Whereas what really was

happening was that the cultivator was automatically readjusting himself to prevailing conditions. It would seem then that the cultivator is content to maintain himself according to that standard of living to which he is accustomed. Increased exertion to carry his circumstances above that level he regards as unnecessary. The Nadia cultivator is physically weak and lacking in stamina. He is unable to bear continuous labour in the heat of the sun. At *bujharat* he left the *Kanungo* to conduct operations in the fields while he sat under a tree from whose shade he only issued forth when he was required. Epidemics have in successive generations exacted a heavy toll from the virility of the district. Endemic malaria has sapped its energies, and destroyed its initiative. The number of working hands and the degree of physical fitness are the real capital of an agricultural population. Judged by this standard the Nadia cultivating classes are bankrupt. They have a standard which suffice for them. They won't labour to raise that standard. It is like the problem of the industrial vicious circle of the big factories where increased wages are not much good to the employees; having but one standard of living increased wages secure a smaller and not a bigger outturn; if they can get what they want with less work they will work less.

Now, if, as is a fact, the Nadia cultivators' standard of living is very low, and from physical and other disabilities he is without desire to raise it, I think that it is possible to carry away an idea of the extreme poverty of the district and of the condition of the cultivator as being just above the starvation point which is substantially incorrect. My opinion is, that looking to appearance only, most of the officers of the settlement were inclined to exaggerate the extremes of destitution to which the cultivator had been reduced. On the other hand it is difficult to accept the statistical conclusions of the Superintendent of Survey. The miserable dark insanitary and congested houses, the emaciated physical appearance of their inhabitants resulting no doubt from malaria, the alternation of jungles with big stretches of uncultivated sandy soil, the absence of imported or other luxuries, the coarse scanty clothing, the severity and want of variety in the food, the poor showing made by the shops and markets are indices of a low standard

of life. They are inconsistent with actual (not potential) affluence.

The cultivator lives in a homestead surrounded with jungles growing right up to the houses. The area is small: not large enough to permit the threshing at home of his crops. For this purpose a piece of land is ordinarily appropriated in the fields where the villagers take their turn to thresh their crops. A threshing floor of this sort is called "Khamar". He has usually 3 small mud huts: one a living room, the other a cook room and the third a cowshed. The space between the huts is the depository of cow-dung. This is kept not so much for manure, for the Nadia cultivator is lazy about manuring his fields, but for fuel. A common adjunct to their homestead is a "gola" raised on a platform. In this food stocks are kept. Lines of these golas mark the residence of landlord or "Mahajan". Beyond the jungles, he usually has an orchard, the fruits of which are useful to him in eking out his subsistence. From the north side of the district there is a certain trade in mangoes. Paikars come from Calcutta in Baisak and Joysta to buy them up. The jack fruits in Karimpur are an important addition to the food stocks of the locality. In Joysta and Ashar they prove almost the staple food of the people.

In the east of the district, the trade in date-palm *gur* has reached considerable dimensions. Chuadanga, Sibnibash (Majdia) and Daulatganj in Jibannagar carry on a big traffic in *gur* in the cold weather. It is said that on every hot day at Daulatganj in the season from 1,000—3,000 pots of *gur* to the value of Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,000 are sold. They go to Calcutta or Narayganj or else to the sugar factory at Kotechandpur which is connected by road with Daulatganj. Along the Chuadanga-Jhenida road this trade is no less brisk. And the Jibannagar and Chuadanga *gur* is said to be the best of its kind.

Beyond the orchard, or on another side of the homestead, the cultivator will grow some of his "special crops." These are turmeric and chillies, perhaps patals, and other vegetables such as brinjals, which however are for home consumption. There is an export of turmeric and chillies from Meharpur, of chillies from Chuadanga, Chakdaha and

Haringhata, of turmeric and patals from Mirpur.

Other crops grown for export more than for home consumption are grown in the open field: sugarcane and betel in Daulatpur, sugarcane in Mirpur, betel in Karimpur and tobacco in Chakdaha and Haringhata. The cultivation of betel leaves is so paying that it is by no means confined to the Baruis but all who can afford to do so cultivate it. But it is an exhausting crop and the special rates charged by the landlords are high. In the open field is also grown that variety and abundance of oil and pulse crops for which the district is famous. The export of these goods are from practically the whole district. Jute is important only in the north-east. In other parts it does not grow well and there is not enough water to steep it. The *aus* crop which forms 64 per cent. of the total rice crop is off the fields in time to allow the sowing of the *rabi* crops. That is its great advantage. As an article of diet it is used entirely for home consumption. It is coarse and indigestible.

We have seen that the district as a whole imports rice and pays for it by these miscellaneous products. The cultivators' purchases are limited to rice, if he does not grow enough himself, mustard oil, spices, salt potatoes and cloth. Mustard oil and cloth the district itself provides. Villagers often combine to make mustard oil themselves. Salt and potatoes are imported, the latter from Kalna in Burdwan. Coal is imported to the municipalities on the east. The cultivators use as fuel wood and the dry stalks of a pulse crop known as Aharar. Fish is not a daily ingredient in his diet nor is milk.

Even in so poor a district as Midnapore the annual budget of the statistical household of five is stated on page 109 of the Settlement Report to contain expenditure amounting to Rs. 86 annually on miscellanies, such as oil, salt, spices, fish, vegetables, milk, kerosine, fuel, tobacco, molasses and household utensils. We all know how extras mount up. But it is in this respect that the severity of the Nadia cultivator's diet comes into play. His meal is coarse rice, split peas, vegetables, perhaps small fish and occasionally milk. It has been calculated that what in Midnapore costs a family Rs. 86 costs a

family in Nadia even in these days of high prices only Rs. 60.

He issues out to work late. Before setting out he has a meal of cold rice, the remains of the previous night's meal which has been steeped in water overnight. A cooked meal is brought to him in the fields at midday and he has his main meal after dusk. When he is not wearing simply a loin cloth, he wears a short coarse dhuti reaching to the knee and a *gamcha* round his shoulders; which in winter is replaced by a thicker scarf. On special occasions a muslin cloth is added over the upper part of the body.

Of the total population in Nadia of 1,000,339 dependent on agriculture, agricultural labourers and their dependents number 219,183. For the province as a whole the proportion of cultivators to labourers is 5:1. In Nadia it is 4:1. This is due doubtless to the large element of "Bunas" imported originally to provide labour to the Indigo Industry, a good many of whom have not acquired land of their own, and to the demand for labour on the part of the small *bhadralok* who cultivates the land himself.

19. The agricultural labourers.—

The agricultural labourer is the poorest element in the population. In the vicinity of railway stations he does not do so badly. There is plenty of work going and no doubt frequent opportunities to pilfer. But in the interior his condition is rather miserable. His ordinary wage is from 4 to 5 annas a day with a meal and in harvest time 6 annas a day; whereas an artisan such as a carpenter is paid 12 annas a day. In the period 1870-75 the wages of an agricultural labourer were not much less (3 to 4 annas), but the artisan's wages since then have increased by more than double. The unskilled labourer in this country appears to be in the unenviable position of being the first to feel the pressure of a rise in the cost of living and the last to be relieved: as per example in 1924 the rise in the price of jute made the importers of rice raise their prices in order to share in the current prosperity, with the result of causing widespread distress among the labouring classes.

The Nadia labourer normally takes two meals. He has in the morning cold rice left over from the meal of the night before and usually gets a share in

the midday meal sent out by his employer to the fields. At night he has his main meal of coarse rice, salt and any vegetables he may have raised on his homestead. But the disinclination to improve matters which characterizes the cultivator is even more marked in the labourer. He takes life very easily. His hours are from 9 in the morning until 3 in the afternoon with a nap after the midday meal. When he has collected enough in wages to carry him over the next day or two he will stay at home until he has exhausted the fund. Then he will go out in search of work again.

Before leaving the subject of the composition of the classes dependent on agriculture, mention should be made of the swollen proportions of the landlord agent class. Those with their dependents number 10,513. There is one agent to every 254 cultivators, a proportion higher by more than 25 per cent. than exists in any other district in Bengal. These figures probably do not include the "halsana" who is a cultivating villager retained by the landlord in tracts where the system of Utbandi prevails, to help the Amin to assess the annual rent.

The moral drawn by the Census Superintendent from these figures which are published on pages 3 and 7 of his report is that the incidence of landlords' agents varies inversely with the degree of sophistication attained by the raiyats. The truth of this is apparent in Nadia in which this class is a regular blight. It is to be hoped that the encouraging results of settlement operations in reducing the numbers of the class where settlement has been completed, to which the Census Superintendent has drawn attention, will follow upon the present operation. But a maintenance of the Utbandi system itself requires the employment by the landlord of a larger staff than would be necessary under the ordinary system of holdings prevalent elsewhere in Bengal. This fact is indeed one of the main objections to the Utbandi system.

20. Village officials.—Among the social conditions differentiating Nadia from other districts, the assimilation of the Mohammedans and the Hindus has already been mentioned. The Nadia man is shy and does not take kindly to strangers. He is not

litigious and likes to be left in peace. The standard of literacy is low, the average in Bengal as a whole of literates to illiterates is 9 per cent., but in Nadia only $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Twelve per cent. of the Hindu population is literate and only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the Mohammedan. The former are much more in evidence than in other districts. "Buna" women work in the fields and the women of all classes except the high Hindu castes move freely about the country side. They do the marketing and the management of the household purse is in their hands. The devitalizing effects of endemic malaria seem to be less in evidence in the case of the women, and to have left them with more alertness and vigour than the men. This is a phenomenon that has been remarked on in other malarial tracts. Members of neither sex seem to mind exposing themselves in public, and their habits of sanitation are crude.

It is the custom for the men to sleep in the verandahs, the women and farm stock go inside. Jackals are numerous and quite fearless. They will stand at the roadside in the day time and quiz the passers-by. I suppose that is why the farm stock has to be shut up. To a Circle Officer who enlarged to a cultivator on the dangers of sleeping on the verandah the answer was "we men are not females, goats, or lifeless articles that we should sleep in the innermost part walled in on all sides."

In some ways they have a great idea of what is appropriate to their position. They will cut grass for cows but not for horses. A Chaukidar who held my horse got into great social trouble. In other parts of Bengal, a Kayastha will take food at the hands of Sudras and Goalas. In Nadia no one will take food at the hands of any other caste man except a Brahmin.

The village community has unusually its own members of the artizan classes and its own social servants. It has its own "mandals" or "morals," leaders of public opinion to whom great weight is attached. Landlords are usually careful to win these or some of them to their side. Though not strictly a servant of the landlord the mandal goes to the kutcherry at collection time and sees to the amicable realization of rent. He sometimes enjoys land rent-free or at preferential rates of rent. The

Halsana is more definitely the landlord's servant. The name is connected with hal-son (current year). His function seems to be specially connected with the Utbandi system. It is his duty to inform the Utbandi Amin of the land each year in each Utbandi tenant's possession. He gets a share of the Amin's spoils and nearly always enjoys land rent-free as chakran land.

The Koyal is another village official imposed on it by the landlord. His function is to weigh all goods which are sold and purchased in the village. He pays for the job and takes a commission on all dealings, which is called "Koyali." Where the post has been abolished, the landlord gets his money by distributing it as an abwab. It is then called "Dhulat Jama." The practice is most prevalent in the central parts of the district where Utbandi is common.

The village grocer has already been commented on. A village boy is *rakhal* for the whole village. As the cows are numerous and the boy usually small, discipline is weak, and cattle trespasses the rule.

On the last day of Pous, the villagers take their food out together and have a picnic in the fields; this is called the "Poushala."

Chapter IV.—The employment of the land and agriculture.

21. **The statistics collected.**—At the end of the volume will be found detailed statistics showing the employment of the land and the crops grown in each separate police-station. The figures collected by the Rajshahi party in Nadia district have been incorporated in these totals, but the latter do not include figures from the small area of $8\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, which fell within the main Nadia block, but was omitted from our survey. For individual village totals reference must be made to the registers which have been handed over to the Collector.

The employment of the land.

22. **Cultivated and uncultivated areas.**—The following statement shows the proportion of the whole district which is (a) cultivated, (b) culturable

but uncultivated, (c) unculturable. For comparison figures from eastern, western and central Bengal are given :—

Percentages of total area.

District.	Culti- vated.	Cultu- rable.	Uncul- turable.
Nadia ..	70	19	11
Tipperra ..	80	3	17
Bankura ..	38	31	31
Rajshahi ..	76	12	12
Jessore ..	76	11	13
Khulna ..	78	14	8

Though the soil of Nadia is usually regarded as poor, it will be seen that in comparison with other districts a fair proportion comes under the plough every year and that the percentage definitely unfit for cultivation is lower than in the other districts except Khulna. On the other hand the area suitable for growing crops, but left uncultivated, is large, larger than that of the unculturable lands. Nadia is unlike the great majority of Bengal districts in this respect and it is the main factor which has produced peculiar agricultural conditions requiring special treatment.

23. Changes in the extent of cultivation.—Stated in another way, the soil though scarcely anywhere sterile, is not generally fertile, and the result is that much land lies on the margin where an economic return is doubtful. This would naturally induce considerable changes in the area under cultivation as pressure on the soil varied. Cultivation recently has apparently been extending. At present the net area cultivated is about 73 per cent. of the total culturable area. In the District Gazetteer* the percentage is given as 41 per cent. The figures in the latter were presumably rough estimates based on reports of panchayats. They evidently over-emphasised the infertility of the district. Cultivation has not of course expanded to the extent of 30 per

cent. or anything like that figure in the last 20 years. Curiously enough, the Gazetteer anticipated no increase, but rather the reverse, for it is stated that cultivation had for some years been decreasing as the decay of the river system gradually robbed the soil of its original fertility. The explanation as stated does not agree with the modern view of experts as regards the river changes. According to them, the general deterioration of the river system is a process of very gradual change, appreciable only over long periods, in the course of which there would be periodic waves of improvement and deterioration. Any tendency of the area cultivated to contract in the course of a few years could not be attributed to the general process of decay of the rivers. It is just conceivable however that one of the minor periodical waves of deterioration may have been responsible for the decline in cultivation noticed by the Gazetteer in the few years preceding 1909 and that a similar minor wave of improvement may have assisted in bringing more land under the plough since 1909; though no marked signs of any improvement came to our notice during the operations. However that may be, there is so large a margin between the present figures and those of the Gazetteer that it can hardly be entirely ascribed to an under-estimate in the latter, and the conclusion appears to be warranted that there has been a considerable increase in the area under cultivation. Long before the present statistics were tabulated several officers reached the same conclusion from indications in zemindars' accounts and in a keener competition for land shown in rising rents. An improving standard of life and the effect of rising prices of commodities which the cultivator has to sell and to buy would both tend to produce this result and it is more probably the cause than any improvement in the fertility of the soil: indications were rather in the opposite direction.

24. Comparison with England.—Comparisons with foreign countries are apt to be misleading except where they serve to bring out the underlying contrasts. The percentage of Nadia soil cultivated (70 per cent.) is slightly lower than that devoted to agriculture in most parts of England. But in a fairly typical mixed farming country such as Hampshire, the proportion is nearly the same, i.e., 72 per cent. In Nadia however while the whole of the 70 per cent. is pressed into the service of

* The difference between the figures not only of the Gazetteer but of the Agricultural statistics published by the Agricultural Department and those found in the settlement operation calls for remark. The latter show a very much larger area under cultivation and a greatly diminished area of current fallow.

the plough, in Hampshire out of the 72 per cent., 35 per cent. is found to give a more profitable return by being reserved for pasture.

25. Cultivated, culturable and unculturable areas.—The diagram on page 31 illustrates the comparative areas of the three classes of land in different thanas. There is considerable variation in the three classes of land in different parts of the district, particularly in the extent of the culturable but uncultivated area. This falls below 10 per cent. of the whole area on the east of the district, but rises as high as 30 per cent. on the west. While a large part of the central core of the district is uniform, the outer boundaries are quite unlike and the apparent uniformity in the centre tends to disguise the fact that the district is really the site of a transition from eastern to western Bengal conditions. The dissimilarity is incidentally reflected in different systems of land tenure.

(a) *The cultivated area.*—The diagram on page 32 illustrates (1) the extension of land under cultivation, (2) the portion of it twice cropped, (3) the density of population in 1921.

The extent of the net cropped area is some indication of the relative fertility of each area, but it does not sufficiently emphasise the contrasts in this respect. The greater area cultivated in some thanas not only yields a larger gross out-turn, but it provides more valuable crops. The north-east corner of the district for instance supports a population almost double that of the west and judging by the standard of life the pressure on the soil is, even so, less in the former than in the latter. On the other hand double cropping is scarcely any indication of either a rich soil or ability to support a large population. The reason is that the second crop is mainly a spring crop, giving a small yield and is generally associated with the high lands where only the poorer variety of rice, *i.e.*, *aus*, is grown. In Kumarkhali for instance, double cropping is comparatively rare, yet population is almost at its maximum density. Though the advantages of double cropping in the form of big gross production is largely neutralized by the inferior value of the crops produced, a second crop is of course a considerable addition to the food supply. It is probably something more than a mere coincidence that the area twice cropped rises so sharply

with the density of population in Nabadwip and falls with it in Chakdah and Ilaringhata.

(b) *The culturable area.*—The contrast between Nadia and an Eastern Bengal, and to some extent, other central Bengal districts is most marked in the large extent and composition of the culturable but uncultivated area. The statement below shows this* :—

Constituents of culturable but uncultivated land.

	Current fallow.	Old fallow.	Groves.	Culturable jungles.	Other kinds
Nadia (square miles)	201	221	45	8	72
Percentage of culturable area ..	37	40	8	1	18
Tippera (square miles)	49	23	53		
Percentage of culturable area ..	39	18	43		
Jessore (square miles)	93	100	127		
Percentage of culturable area ..	29	33	38		

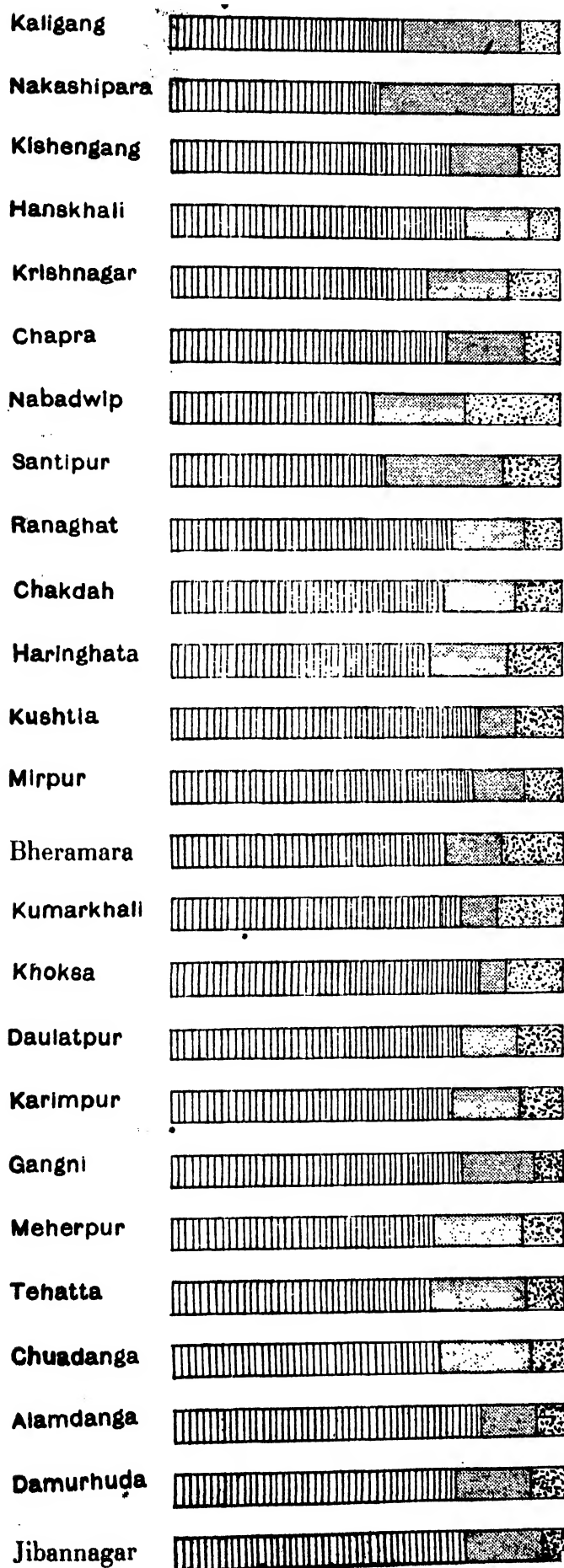
*NOTE.—The distinction between "current" and "old" fallow is rather arbitrary. Current fallow was noted against any land not cultivated in the last three years. Old fallow contains land which may never have been under the plough, but in Nadia a very large part of the old fallow was probably at some time under cultivation.




In Eastern Bengal and many other districts most of the culturable land not under the plough is left uncultivated because it is required for other purposes. In Nadia three-fourths of it merely lies fallow and in extent it is about seven times as large as the similar class of land in Tippera, a district of approximately the same size. A clear idea of the extent of discontinuous cultivation can be obtained by comparison of the total area available for cultivation with the extent of "old and current fallow". The table below shows this, the different classes being shown as percentages of the total area available for cultivation.

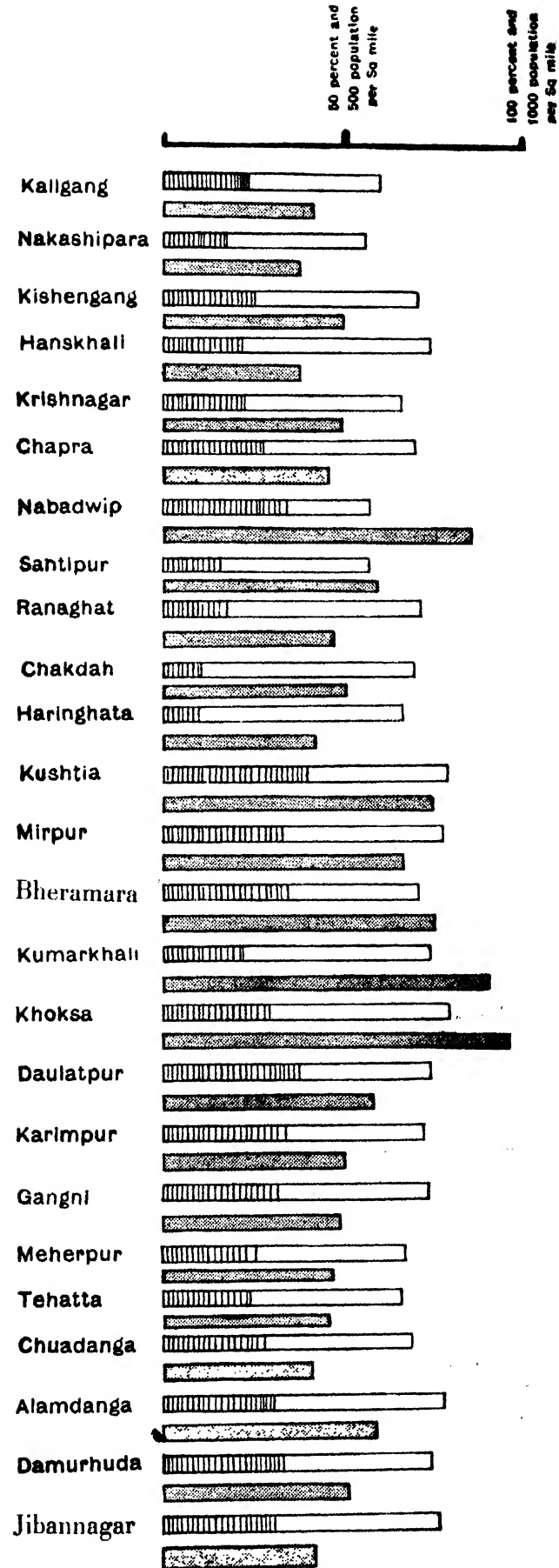
Total area available for cultivation 100 per cent.

	Net area cultivated.	Current fallow.	Old fallow.	Others.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Nadia district ..	78	8	9	5
Kaliganj police-station ..	67	17	10	6
Meherpur ..	74	11	11	4
Kumarkhali ..	90	2	3	5
Chakdah ..	80	6	8	6
Tippera district	96.3	2	1	2.5
Rajshahi district	86	3	4	7
*Bankura district	53	14	33	

* Taken from "Agricultural Statistics of Bengal 1924-25". It is not known how far these are based on settlement figures.



 = Cultivated
 = Culturable but uncultivated
 = Unculturable



= Percentage of twice cropped land of Total area
 = Percentage of net cropped land of Total area
 = Density of Population per Sq mile

As this large area of fallow land is connected with a peculiar system of land tenure and also marks off agricultural conditions from the eastern half of the province, it is worth while to examine in more detail why it is there and to enquire to what extent deliberate fallowing is resorted to. Land may lie fallow from one of three reasons. Expansion of population may not have been sufficient to bring it under the plough; the existing population may require less land for its support and abandons it definitely from cultivation as surplus to requirements or while the sum total of land required remains the same, individual plots have to be given a temporary rest. In most Eastern Bengal districts where the soil is fertile enough to permit continuous cultivation "old fallow" is probably land which has been permanently abandoned or never taken up. A fair proportion also of current fallow would be on its way to become "old." In Nadia the great bulk of "current fallow" is land which is merely being allowed a necessary temporary rest and so too is much of the "old fallow", a small proportion of which appears to be really land abandoned from cultivation.

I do not think it would be correct to argue from the extent of old fallow a proportionate shrinkage in the total extent of cultivation, explainable only by a decrease in population, though at first sight there appears to be significant support in the vital statistics. The percentage of the whole area under "old fallow" is 7.85 per cent., which is almost identical with the decrease in population in the last decade (8 per cent.). But the coincidence is misleading. The main cause of the fall in the number of cultivators was the influenza epidemic of 1918-19, but that calamity occurred while the present statistics began to be collected, so that it had no time to produce any expansion of "old fallow." Had the district been spared the epidemic, the same amount of "old fallow" would have called for explanation. Secondly, when individual thana figures are examined, the incidence of old fallow appears to bear no relation to the decrease in population; and in those areas where population has suffered the greatest losses (Chuadanga and Meherpur subdivisions) there were indications in the keener competition for land that cultivation was expanding. Thirdly, from

the comparison of previous with present figures there seems little doubt that the area under cultivation is increasing and the amount of land abandoned must therefore be small. We must look elsewhere for an explanation of the existence of old fallow.

Now while the incidence of old fallow does not agree thana by thana with the decrease in population, it does conform very markedly to the incidence of current fallow; that is, it appears to occur where cultivation is most shifting and there is deliberate fallowing. The conclusion is that the greater part of the old fallow is not land which has been abandoned, but land which is being given a rest, which at any moment is likely to come under the plough independently of any increase in population or expansion in the total area of cultivation. The process is made possible by the Utbandi system, the incidence of which also tends to conform to that of old fallow. In many cases the cultivator can and does return to the same plots after fallowing and in the normal three-year cycle none of his plots would become old fallow; elsewhere the system is more elastic or the periods of fallowing are longer, periodical cultivation ranges over a wider area and most of the area shown as old fallow takes its turn in a continuous, though delayed cycle of cultivation. In the absence of the Utbandi system of course the tenant achieves the same result by abandoning his tenancy and entering fresh engagements, or merely by shifting cultivation within the limits of his holding.

In making an estimate for the whole district I think it would be safe to take the whole of the "current fallow" and at least 25 per cent. of the "old fallow" as the measure of land which is merely undergoing a periodical rest and has not been abandoned as a result of some definite fall in the requirements of the population. At this rate there would be in Nadia in any one year 250 odd square mile (201 current fallow, plus 50 old fallow) lying fallow as a deliberate process of agriculture. This does not represent however the whole extent to which fallowing is practiced, because as this land is taken into cultivation, other lands have become exhausted and require a rest. Between 400 and 500 square miles of land or one-sixth of the whole area is probably subject to fallowing. In certain parts of the districts the proportion would rise very high.

This constitutes the main problem in any scheme for the improvement of the agriculture of the district. Judging by experience in Europe, where practically all land was at one time periodically fallowed, but is now rarely allowed to lie without giving a return in some form or another for a year, it is a problem which invites attention and should admit at any rate of partial solution.

Other classes of culturable land are by no means unremunerative; bamboo clumps are ubiquitous and cover most of the 45 square miles shown as "Groves" in the table at the end of the volume. Bamboos are not exported much on account of the difficulties of transport, but some are bought by Burdwan district in the north and ferried across the Bhagirathi in Kaliganj thana; there is also a small traffic down the Jellanghi from Karimpur thana. Patches of thatching grass are more common in the north and west of the district and of late years have risen greatly in value. Their rent in Utbandi lands is almost double that for rice lands and a really good piece can be settled for as much as Rs. 25 per acre. Another remunerative class of land is that used for brick-making, but in most cases it passes *ipso facto* from the culturable to the unculturable category. Most of them are near the river or railway. Those near the former can be worked for some time as the silt often refills to some extent the excavations, and when work is discontinued, they soon become available for cultivation; elsewhere they are quickly worked out and the land rendered valueless. Brickfields were fetching fantastic rents after the war, but latterly many have been abandoned. There are still many however on suitable sites which pay a high rent and give a good return.

(c) *The unculturable area.*—The extent of this class in different thanas can be seen in the diagram at the beginning of paragraph 23. Altogether 305 square miles have been found to be unculturable. This is accounted for as follows: 27 per cent. house-sites, 41 per cent. water, and 32 per cent. "other kinds," the latter covering roads and railways, sand, unculturable jungle, etc. There are no sterile rocky uplands such as are met with in the adjoining districts of Murshidabad and Burdwan. It is not the least, but the most, fertile areas which contain the largest proportion of unculturable land. This is apparent from a comparison of the district figures

with those of Eastern Bengal and also from the distribution in the thanas with the district. The prevalence of the unculturable area roughly follows that of population; the reason is that one of its largest constituents is that of "house-sites." In addition to the sites themselves, where population is dense there is a good deal of land unavailable for cultivation because it is utilised for miscellaneous purposes such as ditches, excavations (doba), threshing floors, etc. There are few uncultivated bils of any extent and most of the area shown as "water" is accounted for by rivers or the numerous small tanks which are attached to almost every homestead.

Agriculture.

26. *The crops of different seasons.*—

In connection with "the employment of the land" which was the subject of the last paragraph, there is one other important point for consideration and that is the season in which the soil is worked, for on this depends of course the nature of the crop grown. Accordingly the cultivated area is classified as under summer, winter, and spring crops, *i.e.*, under crops harvested at those seasons. So far as Nadia is concerned the summer crop may be taken to be *aus* paddy, the winter crop *aman*, and the spring crop the cereals, pulses and oilseeds. Jute accounts for but a very small proportion of the summer crop.

The Tippera Settlement Report contains comparative figures for different districts and these are reproduced below with the addition of the Nadia figures.

"Percentage of cultivated area (excluding orchards) found to bear".

	Summer crop.	Winter crop.	Spring crop.	Miscellaneous.	Total percentages.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Tippera ..	44	74	18	1	138
Noakhali (mainland only) ..	45	90	14	1	150
Faridpur ..	36	72	24	1	133
Rajshahi ..	64	29	14	1	108
Jessore ..	37	52	26	7	121
Nadia ..	59	32	49	..	140

In commenting on these figures the Settlement Officer of Tippera wrote as follows: "The Rajshahi cultivator fails altogether to get a summer and a winter crop off the same land. The Noakhali cultivator on the other hand is able to

grow summer crops on 45 per cent. of the cultivated area and still get his winter rice crop from 90 per cent. of it. The position of the Tippera and Faridpur cultivators is intermediate, but the early and the late rain is more plentiful in Tippera than in Faridpur, and the Tippera cultivator does the better of the two. (Nine per cent. more of the cultivated area in Tippera bears summer crops than in Faridpur and winter rice covers 2 per cent. more.) The Faridpur cultivator tries to recompense himself by putting a larger area under spring crops, but it is a poor recompense, for the value of the average spring crop on an acre of land in Faridpur is little more than half that of an acre of rice in Tippera and a much smaller fraction of the value of an acre of jute."

Looking only to the figures in the final column, the Nadia cultivator might be supposed to be getting more from the land than most people. Actually he is probably the least fortunate. Like the Rajshahi cultivator he fails entirely to get a summer and winter crop off the same land. Of his summer crop eight-ninths is *aus* paddy, much less valuable than jute which comprises half the summer crop in Tippera and one-fifth in Rajshahi. In the superior variety of rice (*aman*), which constitutes the winter crop he beats the Rajshahi cultivator by a few points, but does not approach the percentage of other districts. The spring crop is double that obtained elsewhere, but the cash return is rather less than half that from a similar area under *aus*.

The following table gives the seasonal cultivation of different thanas:—

Percentages of crops of the net cultivated area (excluding orchards).

Thana.	Crop.			
	Summer.	Winter.	Spring.	Total.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Kaliganj ..	43	40	37	120
Nakashipara ..	53	37	47	137
Kishenganj ..	58	35	48	141
Hanskhali ..	40	54	34	128
Krishnagar ..	65	26	48	139
Chapra ..	50	40	48	138
Nabadwip ..	88	4	76	168
Santipur ..	66	26	40	132
Ranaghat ..	52	44	31	127
Chakduh ..	47	51	20	118
Haringhata ..	38	57	19	114
Kushtea ..	79	17	60	156

Thana.	Crop.			
	Summer.	Winter.	Spring.	Total.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Mirpur ..	71	24	49	144
Bheramara ..	..	..	..	..
Kumarkhali ..	59	34	38	131
Khoksa ..	48	43	48	139
Daulatpur ..	79	13	63	155
Karimpur ..	65	17	67	149
Gangni ..	60	32	52	144
Meherpur ..	50	33	58	141
Tehatta ..	39	45	58	142
Chuadanga ..	64	28	54	146
Alamdanga ..	75	19	47	141
Damurhuda ..	66	27	56	148
Jibannagar ..	59	33	50	142
The District ..	59	32	49	140

27. The methods of Agriculture.—

The methods of agriculture are generally similar to those practised in other parts. They are described in detail in Sir William Hunter's Statistical Account of the district and also in the District Gazetteer; it is unnecessary to repeat them here. The country is not suited for irrigation, it lacks the undulations which solve the problem of motive power further west and the soil is generally too porous for good drainage channels. This is unfortunate as some form of artificial water supply is often essential for the better crops, such as sugarcane and potatoes, and the absence of any local practice for securing it discourages their cultivation. Such tanks as exist are small, close to the house sites and reserved for domestic purpose. In fact the cultivator adapts his crops to the water supply and makes no effort as he has to do in western Bengal to control the latter for the former. He suffers little from floods; small areas are occasionally affected in the north-west in Kaliganj thana from the Bhagirathi overflow and in Chuadanga and Kushtea subdivisions, but the difficulty has always been to keep the rivers open rather than to confine them. What the district has had to fear has been drought, not floods. The prevalence of double cropping however has been some insurance against disaster; the country in the north where the Kalantar stretches into Nadia from Murshidabad and where *aman* paddy is the main food supply has in the past been the first and the heaviest sufferer from deficient rains.

The following calendar of an agricultural year shows the different processes and the approximate time at

which they take place. They vary of course a good deal according to the character of the ground and the advent of rain in a particular season. Harvesting of *aman* for instance is usually earlier on the higher than on the lower lands which dry up later in the year and the cultivator has to wait for the rather spasmodic spring rains before he can start working his land to receive the *aus* paddy seeds. Each crop however has its special needs in the matter of rainfall and in some cases one may conflict with another. For instance exceptionally heavy rains in August and September may be fatal to the *aus* harvest and produce a bumper *aman* crop, heavy rains again in February may rot the spring crops, but assist the early ploughing for *aus*.

January	Pous ..	
February	Magh ..	
March	Falgun ..	Cutting of arahar and tung. Cutting of gram. Cutting of linseed.
April	Chaitra ..	Ploughing for <i>aus</i> commences. Cutting of musuri mustard.
May	Baisakh ..	Ploughing for <i>aus</i> continues. Sowing of <i>aus</i> . Sowing of gemma.
June	Jalstha ..	Weeding of <i>aus</i> . Sowing of gemma. Sowing of <i>aman</i> in nursery. Cutting of til.
July	Ashar ..	Weeding of <i>aus</i> . Sowing of arahar.
August	Sraban ..	Harvesting of <i>aus</i> commences. Transplanting <i>aman</i> . Sowing of til.
September	Bhadra ..	Transplanting <i>aman</i> . Harvesting of <i>aus</i> continues. Cutting of gemma. Weeding of <i>aman</i> .
October	Aswin ..	Harvesting of <i>aus</i> finishes. Sowing of mustard.
November	Kartik ..	Sowing of kheshari mung. Sowing of gram. Sowing of linseed. Sowing of sesamum.
December	Agrahayan	Tapping of date palms begins. Sowing musuri. <i>Aman</i> harvest commences.
	Pous ..	<i>Aman</i> . Harvesting of til. <i>Aman</i> harvest finishes.

28. **The crops grown.**—The crops grown in the district are shown in the table below :—

Crop.	Acres.	Percentage of gross cropped area.
<i>Aus</i>	641,326	36.3
<i>Aman</i>	369,485	20.9
<i>Boro</i>	1,139	..
Wheat	28,719	1.6
Barley	14,681	.8
	(7,560)	
Gram	162,010	9.2
Maize	443	..
Other food grains including pulses	231,911	13.1
Oil seeds—		
Linseed	65,010	3.7
Sesamum	4,849	.3
Rape and mustard	31,038	1.7
Others	6,534	.4
Condiments and spices	13,170	.8
Sugar	9,996	.6
Fibres—		
Cotton	12	..
Hemp	3	..
Others	85	..
Jute	61,125	3.5
Dyes—		
Indigo	2,330	.1
Others	1,967	.1
Drugs—		
Tobacco	5,122	.3
Betel	1,594	..
Others	138	..
Fodder crops	24,355	1.4
Fruits	68,766	3.9
Potatoes	1,341	..
Others	12,104	.7
Miscellaneous	2,711	.1

GRAND TOTAL .. 1,762,965

29. **Rice.**—Rice occupies little more than half of the gross cropped area, but its relative importance is very much greater than this proportion suggests. For one thing it gives twice as valuable a return as most of the varieties of spring crops which cover the other half; for another the latter are generally grown on twice-cropped ground, so that they are more or less only supplementary to the cultivator's main resource. Except on the waste uplands in the west and the sandy stretches near the rivers, rice of one variety or another is grown on practically every class of land, but the summer rice requires less water than the winter does and this difference is

reflected in the rough classification into *aus* and *aman* or high* and low land which is commonly used in accounts between landlord and tenant. On the district average *aus* lands command a slightly higher rent than *aman*. This does not imply that the summer rice is grown on the most fertile lands; the case is rather the reverse, but on good *aus* land the summer crop can be followed by spring cultivation and the prevalence of Utbandi in the chief *aus* producing area has enabled landlords to force up rents higher than elsewhere.

Summer rice.—In contrast with other districts where *aman* is everywhere the more popular variety, Nadia grows 10 acres of *aus* for every 6 of *aman*. The former cannot survive more than about 2½ feet of water so that it is most common in the drier north and west of the district and is everywhere associated with the higher and sandier lands.

As these lands are seldom fertilised by silt from flood water or artificial manuring by the cultivator, continuous cultivation has to be interrupted by periods of fallowing. *Aus* cultivation is therefore largely shifting and is incidentally closely associated with the Utbandi system, two facts which may contribute to the relatively low yield obtained. The periods of fallowing vary according to the natural fertility of the soil and the accidents of land tenure. Some lands are fallowed every alternate year, some are cultivated for two, three or four years followed by a similar period of rest, some are continuously cropped with only short intervals of fallowing, while others are only seldom put under the plough. The cultivation of a new plot or the recultivation of one that has been recuperating is generally commenced by taking a spring crop off it; this helps to break the land up and to make it ready for the summer rice sown either immediately after it or in the following season. *Aus* is practically invariably broadcast; very occasionally it is intersown with *aman*, but more commonly with "arahar" or "pigeon pea," the latter being left to mature when the former is harvested. The crop does not require much labour, except in the weeding season in May and early June when wages run up to double their normal rate and immigrants are attracted from Murshidabad district. Fewer ploughings too are required for *aus* than for *aman*, but the soil must be broken at the earliest

opportunity and, when rain is insufficient or the soil more than usually hard, it is first laboriously cut up with the spade into large clods, before the plough is put in. After harvest the straw is used for thatching or for fodder, and in the case of *aus*, this is available at a time of year, when the rising waters restrict the grazing grounds, but there is much waste. As the earth dries up the stubble is often fired on the ground, a process which may add something to the fertility of the soil and produces picturesque effects of light on the early cold weather nights.

Winter rice.—While summer rice depends mainly on the early rains, winter rice is fed by flood water and can accommodate itself to considerable quantities of it. It is therefore more or less restricted to the low-lying lands near the rivers, to the bil areas, or to the depressions which lie surrounded by higher lands, and receive their drainage. It is grown in considerable quantities in all thanas, but only in four (Chakdaha, Haringhata, Hanskhali and Khoksa) it is more common than *aus*. On the whole it is probably in this district a more certain crop than *aus*, though if it does fail the results are more disastrous, as there is no opportunity of a second crop. It not only gives a larger yield per acre, but it is more valuable than the summer variety which is rather coarse and is only consumed by the poorer classes. As in other districts there are innumerable so-called varieties many of which are distinguished rather by convention than by scientific differences. Some of the most highly regarded kinds are grown in Nadia, such as Govindabhog, Ramsali and Keshail. The cultivators are not altogether ignorant of seed selection; that is to say, many of them preserve the best of their crop for sowing, but they rarely go outside their own area for seed.

It is not possible to state precisely the extent to which broadcasting and transplanting is practised, as no separate statistics were collected. From all accounts however the proportion varies greatly in different parts of the district. South of Krishnagar and east of Kushtea transplanted rice appears to be the more common. In the centre and north broadcasting is the general rule. Transplantation is known to result in a heavier yield and it is curious that it is not more commonly adopted; the cause

is probably connected with the distribution of rainfall. The young seedlings must be planted out when there are several inches of water on the ground and this condition occurs only where the lands are relatively low and there is a fairly heavy early rainfall. The Nadia tenant is in any case rather averse to exertion and broadcasting saves him trouble; the elaborate arrangements for catching and retaining the rain seen in western Bengal are seldom used here. On the lowest lands all transplanted paddy would be killed by the late floods, which some varieties of broadcast can survive. So round the bils and along some of the rivers is planted a species which grows with the rising waters.

There are few marshes which do not dry up during the cold and early hot weather, so that little *boro* paddy is grown and nearly half of it is confined to one thana, Kushtea.

• 30. **Other cereals and pulses.**—

Wheat and barley are fairly evenly distributed over the whole area except the extreme south. The area so employed is not large, but is greater than might be expected of crops not usually associated with Bengal. As a matter of fact a considerable part of the area shown under wheat is probably really sown with oats, the cultivation of which was encouraged and largely conducted by the planters for their horses. Wheat which according to the Gazetteer was declining in importance is probably extending slightly and barley is also gaining in popularity. Between them the two crops account for an area equivalent to two-thirds of that under jute. They require rather a clayey soil, which will retain moisture late in the year, conditions difficult to obtain in Nadia, where irrigation is not practised. Maize is scarcely grown at all, although in the adjoining district it is not an uncommon crop and in addition to its main yield might form a useful addition to the fodder supplies which are difficult to secure in some parts during the rains.

Of the pulses "gram" is the most important; it covers an area very nearly half that under winter rice and in the centre of the district it is by far the most widely grown of the spring crops. It gives a slightly larger yield than most of the other pulses and shortly after the war commanded a good price. The crops which are grouped in the table in paragraph 28 as "other food" crops

are "Keshari, Masuri, Kalai, Mung and Matar." They are all harvested in spring and require comparatively little attention, in fact they are occasionally sown among the stubble of the rice crop without any intermediate ploughing; while on the chur lands, where the soil is rather friable, it can very easily be broken sufficiently to take the seed. Keshari, Masuri and Mung are mostly grown for home consumption, but gram and some of the other pulses are exported on a considerable scale. When the crops are ripe for cutting, they are severed close to the ground and brought to the threshing floor, where they are trodden by cattle to separate the seed from the stalks. The latter is used either for fodder or fuel. "Arahar" known as pigeon pea, but which when full grown attains the dimensions of a young sapling is one of the distinctive features of the landscape in the early cold weather. It was not a crop which commended itself much to the Settlement Department, for it hindered the Amins from running their marabba lines and afforded such of them as desired to avoid inspection, excellent cover from supervising officers. Even when the crop is cut, the ground is covered with formidably sharp stakes, which make walking over them unpleasant and riding at any speed dangerous. Sometimes sown alone or with jute, it is most commonly planted with *aus* and the seeds are used as a vegetable ingredient with curries. The sticks or stalks are useful for fencing and for fuel, and it seems to be a very easy crop to grow.

31. **Oilseeds.**—The different varieties of oilseeds cover about 8 per cent. of the net cropped area and are generally the most valuable of the spring crops. The golden flare and vivid blue of the mustard, sesamum and linseed give a touch of colour to the cold weather landscape, which is a pleasing contrast to the bare monotony of the fields in other districts at this time of year. Mustard is grown on rather high lands and where jute cultivation is practised, it commonly follows that crop. Of the two varieties "rai" is a more luxuriant growth, but is very much less common than "sharisha." When pressed for oil both are occasionally adulterated with "Goja," which is grown for that purpose and adds to the weight, but is believed to be injurious. The area under linseed is

about double that under the other oil-seed crops, but the yield*per acre is considerably less. Of condiments and spices the most important is the chilli. According to Hunter, the cultivator relied on this crop to pay his rent. This is no longer true to-day, if it ever was, for condiments and spices only account for 1 per cent. of the net cropped area and chilli cultivation in this district is not particularly successful. One frequently sees large gaps in the fields where the plants have failed and the cultivator is too indolent or pessimistic as to their prospects to insert fresh seedlings.

32. Sugar.—Cane sugar does not appeal to the inhabitants of the poorer parts of the district as it demands a good deal of capital as well as irrigation for which the soil is often not suited. Very little is grown in the western or the southern sides of the district. Elsewhere it is more common, particularly in the north-east corner round Kushtea, where there is a factory for cane crushing machines. These are leased out for between Rs. 30 and Rs. 40 for the season. Some prominent villager usually negotiates the hiring and then sublets them to others at a small profit, or they are worked on communal lines. Such sugar as is required for home consumption is derived from the date palms. The best *gur* is said to come from the trees in Jibannagar and Chuadanga thanas and it forms a considerable proportion of the exports from these parts. The method of tapping the tree is well known; it is often performed by a special professional class of labourers known as "katanis." Tapping is commenced in October and continues till February and in a good locality perhaps 10 maunds of *gur* would be obtained from a higha or Rs. 3 return from a well-cared-for tree.

33. Fibres.—Jute is the only fibre crop of any importance. Jute was found to cover 4 per cent. of the net cropped area, but it must be remembered that the statistics are compounded from the three successive years of the survey and that jute perhaps more than any other crop varies in popularity with the cultivator. It is naturally more common in those parts of the district most similar to Eastern Bengal, particularly in Kumarkhali, Khoksa and Chakdaha thanas. In the two former some of the finer varieties are grown. Elsewhere it

is often grown on quite high lands and the usual variety is the coarse "Olitorias" (Deo). This is also the species commonly grown on the char lands, as the crop must be cut early owing to the floods. Even so it often has to be harvested before it is quite ripe and the return is consequently light. It is an exhausting crop and the higher lands require fallowing after two years. Cultivators recognise this and perhaps because its cultivation is rather a speculative venture, which only attracts the more enterprising, it is more frequently manured than other crops. Both cow manure and silt dug from the bottoms of tanks are used. It must have been introduced early into the district for Hunter referred to it in 1880 and notes that the cultivator bestows little care on it and relegates it to the worst lands, a fact which explains its poor quality. Since then it has gained popularity with a rising market, and cultivators now give it as careful treatment as they can. Its inferior quality is more probably due to the low general level of fertility of the soil and to other difficulties connected with steeping, washing and retting. The process is the same as practised elsewhere, but as Nadia is badly drained, it is often difficult to find suitable places for these operations, particularly to procure running water for the final washing. The consequence is that the finished article is of poor colour and lacks a good glaze. In addition to these disadvantages a good deal of damage is suffered from the "stemborer" insect. The output varies between 12 and 15 maunds per acre.

34. Cotton.—The cultivation of cotton has now been practically abandoned, yet at one time it must have been one of the important crops of the district. Judging from returns compiled between 1786 and 1795 it was grown in sufficient quantity to produce a generally recognised rate for cotton lands in practically all the parganas of the district. That it was a remunerative crop may be judged from the fact that rent for cotton land averaged about 33 per cent. higher than that for *aus* land. It was in early days made up and sold at Santipur which at the end of 18th century was the seat of a Resident of the East India Company. But by 1813 the industry had begun its rapid decline. The trade is said to have been worth £150,000 a year. By 1848 however

this crop had almost disappeared, the Collector reporting in that year that it was only grown for home consumption, that the soil was not suitable and that only about 2,000 bighas were given over to it.

35. Dyes.—Indigo is another crop which has had a passing flare of great popularity and a subsequent complete eclipse. In 1800 its value as a dye was known but as an industry it was quite undeveloped. It is said of that time that "the natives about Krishnagar and Jessore were in the habit of obtaining the dye in a very rough manner and bringing the fecula which was of the commonest kind in small earthen vessels and offering it for sale". It was not until 1830 when Europeans were permitted to hold land in their own names that Western enterprise was free to start on the development of the crop but by 1860 the industry was already in economic difficulties, which nearly broke it. It recovered for a time, but its recovery was not long lived and before the end of the 19th century it had decayed. Yet for a comparatively short period in the agricultural life of the district it represented a very large proportion of its economic wealth. Nadia alone produced over 8,000 maunds of indigo a year or approximately one-fifth of the outturn of the old province of Bengal. We found it now occupied only 4 square miles or .1 per cent. of the gross cropped area; even this tiny portion has probably by now disappeared for much of it was a survival of a temporary expansion of cultivation when the war placed an artificial restriction on the supply of aniline dyes. To-day the chief significance of the crop is the bad effect its disappearance has had upon cultivation generally, in eliminating the practice of "green manuring." A good deal of the crop or its refuse used to be ploughed in, with beneficial results on the next crop, with which it was rotated. Raiyats now generally deplore the fact that the indigo lands have lost much of their fertility since they have been put to other uses.

36. Drugs and narcotics.—Except in two thanas, roughly one acre per square mile is reserved for tobacco, and this is presumably grown entirely for home consumption. Most cultivators have a small patch of the plants in their backgarden. In Haringhata and Chakdaha, however, it is grown on a larger

scale and for export. Calcutta provides a handy market for sale, and the possibilities of fostering the industry in the light of experience gained elsewhere is worth examination. The betel nut is grown on a considerable scale further north and east. As is well known it is an exceedingly remunerative crop and in point of value it is of substantial importance in the exports from the district *via* Bheranara and Bongong. Landlords generally exact a correspondingly heavy rent where a betel garden is made and the agreement often takes the form of a temporary lease in which no regard is paid to the pre-existing rights of the tenant in the soil.

37. Fodder crops.—Fodder crops, particularly in some parts of the district, are not unimportant. They cover for instance an area rather more than one-third that under jute. They are grown very little in the west or the south, but fairly extensively in Chapra, Hanskhali and particularly in Kushtea. In the latter thana they obviously fill a need, as though the cattle incidence is there one of the heaviest, grazing grounds in the shape of fallow land is markedly deficient. The most common crop is "gemma", which is sown in April and May and reaped in July and August. In Tehatta and Meherpur a special kind of grass is grown for feeding cattle. The district generally promises good scope for development of fodder crops and the use of silage which is unknown.

38. Fruits and vegetables.—Most homesteads contain a few fruit trees, for the plantations afford privacy as well as fruit. Regular orchards however are more common near the larger town such as Ranaghat, Krishnagar, Santipur and Kumarkhali. The local mangoes, plantains, liches and pappayas are of moderate quality, but the better varieties which have been introduced from elsewhere do quite well. The jack fruit grows in abundance and in spite of its unprepossessing appearance is much liked. A special agreement is often made when it is desired to lay down a new orchard. A cultivator plants the seedlings for the owner of the land and sows amongst them for a few years his own crops till they can no longer be grown when he loses all interest in the soil. Except in the south, where the proximity of Calcutta has created a demand for all kinds of vegetables potatoes are hardly cultivated at all, and in most of the area, except near the big

towns, the raiyat only grows a few vegetables on a small scale for home consumption; though if he has any surplus, he may make a few annas by disposing of it at the local market. In Haringhata and Chakdaha however there is a good deal of market gardening on a larger scale, especially on the sandy banks of the rivers, where various kinds of melons and gourds are grown. The melons of Kalupur on the bank of the Ichamati have some reputation.

39. Trees.—The country is rather well favoured in trees except in the barren north-west, but there are no open glades surrounded by fine specimens which further north in Murshidabad district give parts of the country something of the look of a park. The Banyan grows to a great size. One at Arabpur on the Shikarpur-Karimpur road is comparable to the famous tree at Sibpur and must be one of the largest trees in the world. Teak flourishes in parts of the south and round Meherpur; in some places there are self-sown plantations on abandoned land. Here and there are avenues or groups of Casuarina trees, perhaps the only relic left to tell of the disappearance of some indigo factory. In the more open country of the centre and north one of the most characteristic features of the landscape is the rather stunted *babla* tree. It fringes the road and dots the open fields. But it is not a good roadside tree, for though it provides the cultivator with wheels for his cart, its thorns wrought havoc among settlement bicycle tyres. In the north the wild plum is not uncommon, but curiously enough it is not used for lac cultivation. Rights regarding trees are regulated by custom and as might be supposed vary indefinitely from place to place. For the purpose of rent assessment it is a common practice to count the trees and reckon each as a katha irrespective of the real area it covers; the rent is then determined by this artificial total.

40. Outturn of crops.—A certain number of crop cutting experiments were done and some Kanungos reported the result of casual enquiries made as to the outturn of different crops; but it was impossible to expect much accuracy from a staff otherwise heavily engaged. The results gathered by individuals consequently show very wide differences. The following statement gives an approximate indication of the yield of some of the more important crops. The figures

depart from the ordinary quinquennial averages published by the Agricultural Department in showing a rather lighter yield.

Crop.	Yield of grain in maunds per acre.		
<i>Aus</i>	9.5
<i>Aman</i>	11.5
<i>Jute</i>	13
<i>Gram</i>	10
<i>Musuri</i>	5.5
<i>Linseed</i>	6
<i>Mustard</i>	5

Value of the crop is not shown as prices vary so widely from year to year.

41. Agricultural stock.—Statistics of agricultural stock will be found in Appendix C. These include the figures collected by the Rajshahi party, but no account has been taken of small areas omitted from our survey. The stock on the latter however would amount to less than 1 per cent. of the totals, so that for all practical purposes, the figures may be taken as comprehensive of the whole district.

42. Apparent decrease in numbers of cattle.—It is worth mention that the totals disagree with those obtained by the Cattle Census in 1910 by a pretty considerable margin. Taking for instance bulls, bullocks, cows and calves together, the Cattle Census Report gives a total over 10 per cent. larger than the settlement figures. Except for bulls, the excess is in respect of all four classes of animals, but mainly so in the case of calves and there it would be even larger than it is but for the fact that the settlement has evidently classified as bulls, many animals, which at the Cattle Census would have been treated as calves. It is rather difficult to account exactly for the discrepancy. If both sets of figures are correct, there has been a very serious decrease in the number of cattle, particularly young stock, between 1910 and 1919. For some reasons a decrease might be expected. The population has declined by 8 per cent. in approximately the same period. Those cultivators who produce only enough for their own consumption have

been hard hit by rising prices and may have been tempted to convert any cattle they could spare into cash. They would also restrict their purchases for a pair of bullocks which cost Rs. 60 in 1910 now costs about Rs. 90. On the other hand, the fact that the discrepancy is so much larger in the case of one class that it rather suggests that inaccurate counting may also have something to do with it. There is this to be said in favour of the settlement figures. They were collected by Amins who were bound to visit each homestead in the course of their other work, whereas the census figures were derived from returns of panchayats who may have arrived at their results by guess work. Secondly the settlement figures both in their totals and in the proportions of the different classes of animals agree more closely with figures collected by other settlements elsewhere. Both returns are of course only approximate, but any error in the settlement returns is likely to have taken the form of an under-estimate, for the Amin, though his list was checked by a Kanungo may easily forget to fill up the stock list when he is entering other details about a homestead. To summarise, I would say that our figures* are possibly slightly too low but that the Cattle Census probably errs on the other side; that there has been a slight decrease in the total number of cattle, but that it does not amount to as much as 10 per cent.

43. Distribution of cattle.—The internal distribution of cattle is interesting. It varies more than one would imagine in a district which is popularly supposed to be fairly uniform. There are for instance several eastern thanas where there are over 320 cattle to the square mile, and several western thanas where there are under 240; two southern thanas, Chakdah and Ranaghat, where there are between 4 and 5 head per homestead and several elsewhere, where there are little more than 2 head per homestead. The fallow lands in the west of the district provide the greatest facilities for grazing, though it is rather poor in quality. Cattle however are not, as in other countries, concentrated on the best feeding grounds. In Nadia the largest grazing areas carry the smallest number of cattle.

*NOTE.—The most recent cattle census figures suggest the decrease has since been made up, but these figures appear to be based on previous censuses without reference to settlement figures obtained in the meantime.

The incidence of the latter naturally conforms to a great extent to that of population, for cattle raising is not a specialized industry, but the real determining factor appears to be the extent of cultivation. As the percentage of the total area cultivated rises and falls, it is followed by the cattle incidence per square mile. This emphasizes the fact that in Bengal cattle are at present used, not as a source of food supply, but as agricultural implements. That is of course obvious, but it is apt to be given too little weight in assessing the real qualities of the existing stock and the correct methods of breeding to improve it. The cattle supply very little milk to the population. The average agricultural labourer can rarely afford it and the cultivator himself not often. Both our figures and those of the Cattle Census agree in giving an average available supply of 36 seers of milk per annum for each person. But this does not take into account dairy exports in various forms from the district. In certain parts these are considerable; for instance from Plassey, Bheramara and Ranaghat which draw in supplies from the neighbouring thanas. But generally speaking, cattle are bred for the plough or to produce other animals for it. The milk supply is hopelessly inadequate and in need of development.

A comparison of the number of cattle per homestead shows that the thanas in the south and on the east side of the main Eastern Bengal Railway are all better provided with cattle than those on the west of it. This is another indication that the people on the west are the poorest, for the cultivator with spare cash finds in cattle a natural form of investment. The chief cattle markets are at Baragangdia in Daulatpur thana and Panti in Kumarkhali on the east. On the west Beldanga a few miles north within the Murshidabad boundary helps to serve that side of the district. There is at times a fairly constant stream of cattle moving down the Plassey-Ranaghat road from the north for the Calcutta markets. But there is very little importation of foreign stock for use in the district itself.

44. The local breed and necessity for improvement.—As regards size the local breed compares favourably with those of other parts of Bengal, probably because the food supply is comparatively good. At any rate, the bullocks have to

stand up to more work than in most other districts, as will be seen from the following figures :—

In Noakhali there is one bullock for every 4.56 acres of cropped land.

In Dacca there is one bullock for every 3.76 acres of cropped land.

In Faridpur there is one bullock for every 3.68 acres of cropped land.

In Tippera there is one bullock for every 3.93 acres of cropped land.

In Moughyr there is one bullock for every 4.79 acres of cropped land.

In Nadia there is one bullock for every 4.67 acres of cropped land.

It may be noted that there are over 60,000 buffaloes many of which are used for ploughing,—a much larger number than occur in the Eastern Bengal districts. But this is largely counter-balanced by the fact that transport by carts must absorb nearly an equivalent number of draught animals. Add to this the extra burden imposed by the large extent of double cropping, and one may question whether the number of cattle is adequate for the requirements of cultivation. One or two breeding experiments with imported stock have been tried by individuals, but they have not been very successful. It is scarcely necessary to add that breeding from immature bulls is the rule rather than the exception, and that the cultivators generally make no attempt to improve the stock by breeding from selected strains.

Measures for improving the cattle are for several reasons more necessary than in many districts; there may have been a substantial decrease in the number of cattle, while cultivation has been expanding, so that it is doubtful how far the requirements of the latter are being adequately met. Unlike in Eastern Bengal districts, where rivers carry most of the goods, trade too depends on good transport animals and will suffer if they deteriorate. On the other hand, the local stock is better than in many districts. This means—though it sounds rather a paradox—that there is more scope for improvement, because, as it is only closely allied strains which can be used for crossing, the better the existing stock, the more chance there is of introducing really good blood. Another point in favour of Nadia is that the food supply for cattle is comparatively good. The Cattle Census Report gives as estimate of grazing grounds of 80 square miles. This is probably a conservative estimate, for ordinary fallow

land amounts to 440 square miles and there is in addition a certain proportion of the 300 square miles of unculturable land which is potential grazing. The spring crops afford another source of supply absent in other districts and the acreage of crops grown specially for fodder (24,000 acres) is also comparatively large. The possibilities of further expansion are also greater. The main difficulty hitherto encountered is that the cultivator will not reserve grazing grounds or grow fodder crops where he can grow rice. Of the 500 square miles now subject to fallowing and in the considerable area which never comes under cultivation at all, there is probably much land where ordinary cultivation will not give an economic return, but which might be put to better use in raising cattle, if only suitable grass or fodder crops can be introduced. Lastly, there is an adequate market, good rail communication with Calcutta and a rather haphazard dairy industry, though on a small scale and badly organised, already in existence. The chief difficulty is that the fallow land is mainly in the west, where though the population requires most assistance people are for that reason least capable of launching out into any venture which requires capital.

45. Other Stock.—The number of buffaloes is large; there is 1 for every 5 bullocks, but they are used much more in the north than in the south. Many of them are employed on the heavy road traffic, which runs from Plassey to the east and is the main cross artery of the district. The settlement figures do not show much discrepancy with the Cattle Census return, considering that during the cold weather a good many buffaloes are being moved through the district for sale in other parts. Goats are of course ubiquitous; they are if anything more numerous than in other districts, and as elsewhere seem to have solved the difficulty of living on nothing in particular and doing it very well. For this reason the possibilities of improving the breed and increasing the numbers in the west might repay investigation; the same remark applies to sheep, of which there are considerable numbers mainly in the Chuadanga subdivision. I am afraid not much reliance can be placed on the figures for other miscellaneous stock. In the draft statements I was astonished to find 67 mules reported from Gangni thana and 3 camels from Kumarkhali.

It is true that the presence of 11 donkeys in the next column provided the mules with a respectable ancestry, but it is more probable that they owed their existence to a slip of the pen. As regard the camels, though I was in charge of the bujharat of that area for some months and paid several subsequent visits, I am bound to say I neither saw nor heard of any in the neighbourhood. Perhaps an overscrupulous Amin "khanapuried" a travelling menagerie.

46. Conditions of agriculture.—

Agricultural conditions were not the direct concern of the settlement and the impressions we formed of them and the possibilities of improvement must be regarded as those of interested amateurs with no pretensions to technical correctness. Most of our officers came from Eastern Bengal and naturally contrasted what they found in Nadia with the memories of their own homes. In general they were struck by three facts:—(1) The low standard of agriculture; (2) the poverty of the soil; (3) the apathy or, more bluntly, the laziness of the people.

47. The low standard of agriculture.—That the standard of cultivation is low, as compared with most districts, is, I think, apparent. The discontinuous cultivation, the absence of any attempt to control the supply of water, the small scale on which the more remunerative crops are grown and the low degree of comfort of the tenantry are general indications. It is true that in our estimates average outturn compares not very unfavourably with the rest of the province, but the best paying crops such as *aman* and jute are grown on a relatively small area in selected soils, whereas in Eastern Bengal they are the normal product of the average land.

48. The poverty of the soil and remedies.—It is generally agreed that the poverty of the soil is largely due to the decay of the river system. Much land which used to get the benefit of deposits of silt no longer does so. The expert's view as set forth in the Nadia Rivers Commission's Report is that this state of affairs has existed for at least two centuries and that there has been no progressive deterioration since then, though the changing position of the intake of the rivers from the Ganges produces temporary phases of improvement and the reverse in the supply of water which the district receives. This view is supported by a great deal of data

carefully collected and considered. It is worth noting, however, that it is quite contrary to the ideas of the local people on the subject. They have noticed nothing but deterioration and I do not think it is too much to say that there are few parts of the district where people do not deplore the fact that their lands are drier and less fertile than they used to be, and many parts where they speak as if the change for the worse were within their own memory.

In the rest of this chapter in touching on some aspects of the agricultural conditions of the district, the question of the revival of the rivers is not considered. This omission would convey a very wrong impression if it suggested that the death of the rivers is inevitable or a matter of secondary importance. It is the really vital factor not only in the cultivation but in the general health of the district. But this of course has long been known. It was fully confirmed by all the reports of officers working in different parts of the district and requires no elaboration. The only fresh light which these reports throw on the question is the difficulty which the unprofessional observer must find in reconciling his observations and the opinion of local people with the technical view expressed in the report of the Nadia Rivers Commission. That view is that the decay during the last half century has been negligible or is at any rate only a phase in a process much slower than is generally imagined. But I think unprofessional opinion would be supported by the comparative maps of the Revenue and Cadastral Surveys which will be found in the bound volumes of congregated diara maps handed over to the Collector. These of course were not at the time available for the Commission.

Moreover though the latter held an enquiry into the "Nadia rivers," it was concerned not with the fate of Nadia but with that of the port of Calcutta. The data collected appeared sufficient to disperse the alarming theories of Major Hirst regarding an irresistible earth movement which was slowly but surely menacing Calcutta as a port. To this extent the report was reassuring and called for no drastic action. On the other hand as the Commission was dealing with the "Nadia rivers" and not with the Nadia district I think it is possible that the measure and the extent of their decay there has been minimised.

If that is so, the conclusion to be drawn is that schemes for the revival of the rivers are more urgently needed than is supposed and, further, that if the rate of decay is unsuspectedly rapid the engineering problem will be more difficult.

As the soil is not suitable for irrigation, schemes must be "sanitary" rather than "agricultural" and are scarcely likely to be productive in the sense that they will be paying; as the benefit derived is likely to be local a substantial part of the financial burden should be borne by local bodies.

At the same time as a frontal attack on the rivers is a formidable operation, it should be possible to combine it with flank movements in the nature of other improvements in agriculture, valuable not only for their direct effect on production, but also for their indirect effect on the stamina of the people.

The map at the end of the volume gives a rough indication of the distribution of the poor land; it may be repeated that about 400-500 square miles though culturable and periodically under the plough are so infertile that cultivation is discontinuous. Generally speaking rice is grown until the soil is exhausted and during the enforced period of fallowing the land yields no return whatever. This primitive method of cultivation has been improved upon in many other countries and it is tempting to suggest measures for obtaining similar results in Nadia.

For instance, now that the rivers no longer provide fertility in the form of silt, it is often asked why the cultivator does not supply the deficiency with manure? Judging by experience elsewhere this would enable much of the 500 square miles to be kept under continuous cultivation and would produce a greatly increased yield from all lands so treated. This remedy seems so obvious to anyone with any knowledge of modern methods, that the cultivator is often criticised as hopelessly ignorant or lazy because he does not apply it. The people however are aware of the advantages of manuring and have been for many years. The better crops, such as jute, tobacco, betel nut, etc., are usually given a dressing and as long ago as 1856 it is noted that cowdung and indigo refuse were spread upon the fields to improve the next year's crops. The practice is of course undervalued. My impression is that far less

use is made of it in Nadia, than in many parts of Birbhum and Murshidabad, where in some places nearly every plot of land is marked in the hot weather with piles of cow manure and tank mud. But it is not correct to picture the cultivator as neglectful, through ignorance or apathy, of a remedy ready within his grasp for the poverty of his land.

It is not that there is any deficiency of animal manure. There are in Nadia about 65 heads of stock including buffaloes per 100 acres of cultivated land, probably a higher average than any European country can boast*. But the existing supply is not available for its proper use, simply because the best fertilizing agent cowdung goes on the fire instead of on the fields. While today's meal is being cooked next year's potential food crops are going up in smoke. Realization of this fact would be as useful to the cultivator as the knowledge of his alphabet.

Not the least important factor therefore in improving cultivation is the question of the fuel supply. It is interesting to note that according to Hunter, *babla* trees were occasionally specially grown as fuel as part of a system of rotation when it was necessary to give lands a rest. I have never heard of this being done now.

With large patches of jungle adjacent to nearly every house, there is evidently a good deal of fuel wasted. If this could be used and better still if people could be persuaded to replace it by good varieties of quick growing fuel-producing trees, more manure would be available for the fields and there would be less undergrowth to harbour disease. It is true that this would demand a degree of foresight which it will not be easy to instil into the agricultural mind, but as cultivation extends and fuel reserves diminish, the problem will become more difficult to tackle than ever. Sooner or later it will have to be considered whether the activities of the Forest Department are not required in areas outside the reserved forests. Another possible remedy is the substitution of coal for cowdung for domestic cooking. There are one or two railway projects to connect Nadia direct with Western

*Even in Denmark where farming is exemplary and the average incidence of stock is proportionately high, the number of cattle and pigs together only total about the same as the Nadia figure, i.e., 65 per 100 acres of crop and grass land.

Bengal. If these materialise it should be possible to put coal cheaply into the district. There can be no doubt this would do something to support the declining coal trade and would greatly benefit agriculture.

At present artificial manuring is practically unknown. The use of indigo refuse has been noted, but that has disappeared with the indigo industry; the waste from oilseeds is also occasionally used and there were rumours that a small bone-crushing factory was at work in the east of the district supplying bonemeal to cultivators. Many cattle are largely fed on oilcake and chopped straw and it is very probable that a much larger quantity of oilcake could be more economically employed on the land, if more attention were paid to fodder crops. In some ways the district is perhaps rather a favourable field for the use of artificial fertilisers because as much of the land is high, there is less chance of their being washed out of the soil on application; but there are many difficulties to be overcome before their introduction can be expected to have any appreciable effect on the efficiency of agriculture. In the first place the qualities of the soil have still to be investigated. There is no experimental farm nearer than Berhampore, where conditions are much less similar than might be supposed. It would be useless to push very widely the use of artificial manures until conclusive tests have been made on the spot. Unfortunately the entire absence of any private experiments throws on Government the burden of research over an impossibly wide and varied area. What is required is some form of organised co-operation on the part of individuals willing to test in different quarters the results of tentative research at the risk of some loss to themselves. Assuming however the discovery of the most appropriate manure and the willingness of the cultivator to apply it there still remains the question of cost; cost not only in relation to the cultivator's ability to buy but also in relation to the increased yield expected. In England where the value of an acre's yield of corn is say £10, expenditure of £1 on artificial manure will be covered if the application results in an increased yield of 10 per cent. On Nadia rice lands the expenditure of Rs. 10 per acre on artificial manure would give no profit whatever unless the yield were increased by 15 per cent.

Thus manuring however well devised has strictly limited possibilities. Of the poorer land a considerable portion must be regarded as halfway over the margin of economic cultivation. Continuous cropping could no doubt be achieved, but only at a cost which would leave no profit. It is useless to attempt to extract a yearly crop of rice from such lands. But the present system of concentrating on one crop and exhausting the soil in order to grow it could probably be replaced by a more effective system of rotation. It would be unfair to state that the cultivator has no idea of the relative effects of different crops on the soil. Indigo used to be alternated with rice, oilseeds now frequently succeed jute, and the pulses rice. On the whole however there is very little considered rotation of crops with a view to recruiting the exhausted fertility of the land. The average cultivator merely recognises the fact that certain crops can be made to grow, when others have ceased to be practicable. And in Utbandi lands and other temporary tenancies there is of course an inevitable temptation to "skin" the land as rapidly as possible, and then try elsewhere. In many cases instead of letting land lie fallow, it should certainly pay to grow a green crop, which could be ploughed in as manure or be fed to stock or used partially for both purposes. The best crops of this kind to grow and the best system of rotation generally is a matter which requires investigation and which can only be done satisfactorily by experiments in the district.

Where ordinary cultivation is a difficulty, an obvious alternative is to concentrate more on raising cattle or even sheep and goats. The difficulties are unfortunately equally apparent. Small and scattered holdings are incompatible with cattle farming as it is practised elsewhere. But there are possibilities of expending the demand in the west and south of the district for dairy produce for the Calcutta market and if the industry could get a good start, no doubt means could be found to adapt it to local conditions.

Another industry which might repay investigation is the lac industry. The wild plum tree on which the lac producing insect feeds does grow in Nadia. Forty or fifty miles north in Murshidabad district it grows in profusion and lac production is a source of very

substantial wealth. That it should not have spread further south is curious. It may be due to the scruples, now disappearing, which some people have against taking the life of the insects, or there may be some natural and more permanent obstacle. Though a speculative market to cater for, it is very remunerative and as the cultivator can produce the raw material as supplementary to his ordinary crops, he is not likely to be really hard hit by a fall in its price. If it could be successfully introduced in the north-west it would do much to bring prosperity to the poorest part of the district.

49. The need for an experimental farm and agricultural staff in the district.—

From what has been said it seems fairly clear that the district presents conditions which are very different from those to which research has been chiefly directed and that it has not benefited by the great improvements made elsewhere in the cultivation of jute and paddy; nor is there any chance of its doing so until an experimental farm is established for the study of the local conditions and crops.

Apart from the rice crop, the chief work of such a farm would be (1) to improve the cultivation of the pulses which cover roughly 6 lacs of acres, an area equivalent to half that under rice, (2) to introduce a better system of rotation so that more of the 300 odd square miles annually left deliberately fallowed could be cultivated or at any rate improved by growing a manuring crop, (3) to exploit the possibilities of fodder crops.

50. The apathy of the people.—Officers with experience of other districts so often noted the laziness and lack of intelligent interest among the cultivators and other classes in agricultural matters that they must be reckoned as a proved characteristic of the district. They are by no means unknown elsewhere, but they are perhaps accentuated in Nadia for two reasons. The tenantry owing among other things to the results of indigo cultivation and the Utbandi system are traditionally dependant on their superiors and lacking in initiative; while the landlords owing to the unhealthiness of many parts are only too anxious to have as little to do with their property as they can. The result is that if the tenant of other districts is slow to exploit on his own fields the victories won by science on experimental

farms he may be expected to be still slower in Nadia and if persistent propaganda and practical demonstration are essential elsewhere they are doubly so here. On the other hand the history of the district shows that it is adaptable to change. Cotton, indigo and jute have replaced each other as special crops in response to the changing demands of the market, but the process is always slow and new methods or new crops will not readily be adopted unless their appeal is pretty obvious. To one appeal the cultivator is always ready to respond and that is an invitation to borrow. It might be possible to turn this to good account through the medium of agricultural loans in kind, i.e., by extending facilities either to co-operative societies or to approved individuals to take loans of special seeds, irrigation appliances or manures which it is desired to introduce.

To a great extent the general apathy is no doubt connected with conditions of climate and health, which can only be remedied, if at all, by Engineers and Doctors. But one may question whether there are not also economic causes at work and whether the existing tenure system gives sufficient encouragement to enterprise and industry. In Bengal the main principle of land legislation has been to provide security of tenure to the actual cultivator, while keeping a conservative eye on the obligations of the permanent settlement and the theoretical status of the *khudkhasht* and *paikasht* raiyat. The degree to which a sense of property has been conferred on the agriculturist however is still some way behind that in many European countries, where an advance in agriculture has everywhere been associated with an increasing diffusion of ownership and the growth of the small holder and peasant proprietor. Taking a rough survey of the district from this point of view it will be found that Nadia falls roughly into five divisions. One-fifth of the total area is held under the Utbandi system, which definitely discourages improvement. One-fifth is in the *khaskh* possession of proprietors and tenure-holders, but most of this is not cultivated land and one-fifth is held by *mukarari* raiyats. In essence the *mukarari* cultivator whose rent is low and has remained so for generations, is scarcely distinguishable from a peasant proprietor, paying in the guise of rent

dues to the State through the proprietor. His security of tenure and low fixed assessment should offer all the traditional inducements to improvement, which are supposed to make peasant proprietors the most progressive agriculturists. The remaining two-fifths of the area is in the hands of occupancy or settled raiyats. Where land is valuable and there is little apprehension of an increase in rent, this class has probably a sense of property and security little inferior to that of the *mukarari* raiyat. But where land is poor and the landlord grasping, it is not uncommon to find settled raiyats with little attachment to their holdings and not unwilling to surrender them.

The rough division does not take into account the area held by under-raiyats (which amounts to about 3 per cent.), many of whom in respect of their cultivated lands have no permanent rights. Nor is the holder of a raiyati always a *bonâ fide* cultivator. The acquisition of holdings by money-lenders and speculators to be worked by hired labour or for a share of the produce is in some parts a common feature.

Taking the district as a whole therefore one might venture at the rough estimate that certainly not more than three-fifths and perhaps not much over half of the total area is in the direct possession of persons with a substantial sense of property and security in the land they are themselves working. On the area basis this compares* unfavourably with the more advanced European countries and the comparison is scarcely less favourable if the number of occupying owners is considered in relation to the number of persons engaged in agriculture.

The conclusion is that, apart from any implied obligations to preserve the rights of the raiyats on purely economic grounds we are bound to persevere with the policy of extending to tenants security of tenure and limitation of rent demands. On the other hand we are faced with the difficulty of interesting the landlord classes in the good cultivation of their estates. The upper classes as a general rule care nothing for agriculture, and it is idle to look for much pro-

gress, when the sections of the people where intelligence and enterprise might be looked for to introduce improvements, devote those qualities to any fields but their own. Not only that, but the cultivating class is to some extent continuously drained of its best. The efficient cultivator who accumulates a little capital tends to climb into the ranks of the rent receiver and money-lender, where he takes as large a share as he can of the produce of the soil, but puts nothing back. The drain on the cultivating classes is at present admittedly small, but as social barriers between the classes weaken, it is likely to become more serious. To attribute the low standard of cultivation to the neglect by the landlords of their obligations is easy; it is more difficult to suggest a remedy. But it seems obvious, that if their hereditary disinclination to take any interest in agriculture is to be overcome, it is necessary to appeal to something stronger than a sense of public duty. With the existing restrictions on the enhancement of rent there is little economic inducement to the landlord to improve agriculture*.

A contrast with English experience is perhaps a little forced, but it serves to bring into prominence one of the essential obstacles to a similar development in India. The tremendous improvement in agricultural efficiency made in England during the 18th and 19th centuries was due, not so much to the efforts of the agricultural classes themselves, as to the enterprise of the natural leaders of the rural population, the landowners. Their return for improvements introduced, and to a great extent their inducement to make them, was the power to raise rents from the tenants who profited by them. The process gained impetus, as increasing returns served to encourage and finance further ventures.

The position of the Bengal landlord is very different. He can scarcely be regarded as associated with the tenant in an enterprise where success will be

*In Denmark in less than half a century 12 per cent. of the total cultivated area held by occupying owners had grown into 88 per cent.

*To the free working of the landlord-tenant system the landlord's right to raise the rent is essential. Refusal of that right removes his one economic incentive to improve his land. The psychological effect would be even more powerful. Deprived of any opportunity of getting more out of the land he would inevitably sink less in it. He would decline rapidly to the position of a mere rent receiver, an obvious burden on those who expend energy and capital in working the land and also on those who purchase its produce.—*Rural Report of the Liberal Land Committee, 1923-25, page 232.*

rewarded by increased profits to both. In so far as his tenants are on permanently fixed rents, the return on the landlord's invested capital is fixed. From those not on fixed rents, he can obtain a larger return by enhancements. But the latter are governed by rules which relate mainly to fluctuations in price over which he has no control, and not to an increase in the yield in which he ought to be interested. An increase in production does not directly benefit him and therefore improvements for that purpose make no direct appeal to him. Ultimately of course, good cultivation means a prosperous tenantry and larger resources from which rent can be paid. On the other hand it also enables the tenant to put up a better fight if the landlord happens to fall out with him. With many landlords the latter consideration carries quite as much weight as the former, and they would as soon see their tenants poor, but submissive as prosperous and recalcitrant.

To carry the contrast with English experience of better cultivation and rising rents *ad absurdum*, one may picture a Nadia landlord introducing such an improvement in the method of cultivation of a staple crop as would double its yield. He would find it difficult to secure any share of the profits where he could not point to any specific improvement such as a khal or better soil. In fact if the increased yield were so large as to lower the price of the staple crop he might be liable to claims for reduction of rent.

The only conditions in which the landlord can directly obtain a share of increasing returns is where he stands over an under-tenant as the possessor of a holding in origin a raiyat, or where he holds land in his own possession for *khash* cultivation. Neither case is entirely satisfactory. In the former the tenant's interest is too transitory to offer him any inducement to special effort and the landlord, unless he is himself one of the cultivating class, only retains the status of raiyat by a legal fiction which is contrary to the usual principles of tenancy legislation. *Khash* cultivation by the landlord too is often regarded with disfavour, because in a sense it is a limitation on the potential rights of the ordinary cultivating classes in the land and because in many cases it has been acquired by ousting those

classes and extinguishing their pre-existing rights. Moreover for its working it does tend to produce a class of landless labourers, whose economic position at the present standard of wages is deplorable. On the other hand, if the upper and more educated classes are to be enlisted as pioneers of progressive cultivation, they are more likely to act as such, under conditions where their control is direct and where they can retain such increased returns as better methods give without having to share them with another. While admitting that *khash* cultivation by the larger landlords is liable to abuses, it has undoubted possibilities as a field for progressive agriculture. Ideal conditions would be those in which the landlord would have a direct monetary interest in the development of his tenants' land (an interest which he would be prevented from abusing) and to this end would maintain *khash* cultivation as a nucleus of high standard cultivation from which the ordinary tenant would obtain assistance in experiment or kind. Present conditions are very remote from this ideal; it is not even easy to see how a start can be made. It is certainly not suggested that matters would be improved by the removal of the restrictions on the enhancement of rent. But in blaming the zemindar for his indifference, it is not recognized that the question is largely an economic one and that the appeal to the zemindar must be economic. It is forgotten that in limiting by restrictions on enhancement the freedom of contract in the interests of one party, a good deal has been done to stifle the enterprise of the other. This is the price which has been paid in attaining what has so far been the object of agrarian legislation, namely, the security of tenure of the cultivating classes. Yet it ought to be possible to maintain the latter and at the same time to hold out to the landlord some more definite prospect of sharing in the profits of improved cultivation provided he assists in promoting it. The existing provisions regarding improvements are seldom used because it is necessary for the landlord to prove some definite and permanent work such as a khal, which with all the good intention in the world he would in many cases be unable to provide on account of the conditions of the land. Yet there are many minor ways in which he might do much to assist the tenants, but for which under the existing law he would be entitled to

no consideration. The following may be mentioned but no doubt many of them would suggest themselves to an expert: the maintenance of good stock with facilities for tenants improving their own cattle from it, the cultivation and supply of selected varieties of seed, the provision of grazing land with good fodder crops or the maintenance of an agent with some agricultural training who would interpret agricultural propaganda to tenants as well as collect rents from them. In suits for enhancement under sections 30-32, Bengal Tenancy Act, there is always a wide margin between which the actual rent may be fixed and in 105 cases the maximum is rarely given. It might be possible to retain the existing restriction on enhancement and still give some impulse to the landlord to interest himself in the cultivation by his tenants, if the officer fixing rent were authorised to take into account any measures taken by the landlord for the assistance of his tenants. It is also worth consideration whether the section dealing with improvements could not be redrafted in such a way as would extend its scope and afford stronger inducements to the landlord to qualify for the benefits under it.

51. Fragmentation of holdings and the separate possession of plots by co-sharers.—Another effect of the system of land tenure on agriculture is the size of the unit of cultivation. In Nadia the average area of a settlement plot is 52 acres; this may also be taken as the approximate average area of cultivated plots for the effect on the average of the larger jungle, bil, and waste plots is balanced by the smallness of those of homestead sites, particularly in towns. In the north-east the size diminishes and there are many villages, where as many as three or four plots go to the acre. The cultivator's lands are of course scattered all over the village and sometimes more than one village, in these tiny plots. This may have advantages in undulating lands, where the possession of plots at different levels, forms some insurance against a total loss of crops by the accidents of flood or drought. But on more or less uniform land as in Nadia, the drawbacks are more apparent. Much good land, probably at least 5 per cent., is wasted as plot boundaries and the occasions for disputes are also increased. Moreover until holdings are more compact, there

will always be great difficulties in introducing effective schemes of irrigation or in improving the type of agricultural instrument employed. It is a common reproach that the plough and the harrow are antediluvian in pattern and they are generally pointed to as proofs that the cultivator is almost equally antediluvian in outlook. But where the field to be ploughed is often as small as an *ejlash*, anything but the lightest and most simple instrument would be useless owing to the difficulty of continually turning it in a small space.

One occasionally comes across a cadastral map prepared 30 or 40 years ago; compare it with one of the present day and the number of plots will quite possibly be found to have doubled. The increase is of course to some extent due to the different definition taken of what should constitute a separate plot, but there are other indications including landlords' *chittas* which point to the fact that fragmentation of holdings and more particularly the subdivisions of originally compact areas into separate plots separately cultivated by individual co-sharers is proceeding at a pretty rapid rate, probably a great deal faster than is generally recognized. The evil appeared to be associated with the richer lands, it was very marked in Kushtea thana, particularly in Mahommedan villages. If any special enquiries are directed to this problem Nadia would be a rather favourable field as the landlords' papers are particularly detailed.

Interference by legislation is admittedly extraordinarily difficult. Some areas, where the tenurial structure is complicated are probably beyond hope. Moreover anything which restricts the recognition by the landlord of transfers of plots which have actually taken place may produce alarming complications such as were met in Pabna and Murshidabad. On the other hand it is not very uncommon to find tenants with separate holdings exchanging possession of plots without making any reference to their landlord or interfering with their respective *jamans* or payment of rent. This shows that given facilities, regrouping of plots would be possible, but people are generally deterred by the fear of being involved in complications. With a settlement record to work upon, a Revenue Officer vested with statutory powers should be able to effect exchanges of plots from one *jama* to another and put the result

down on record in such a way that legal complications would not arise later. Provided the procedure was made really cheap, and some preliminary education was done first I do not see why a good deal of voluntary consolidation by application to a revenue court should not be done. A concurrent line of action which would have to be taken is to arrest the progress of fragmentation of plots.

These merely touch the outer fringe of what is in fact in a somewhat unusual form that old conundrum at the heart of all economic production, namely, how to reconcile Capitalism with the welfare of the workers.

The great mass of cultivators making all allowances for their inherited adaptation to local conditions and their "old wives wisdom" are very inefficient judged by modern standards. Can the faith and works of the Agricultural, Irrigation and Co-operative Departments move this mountain? One doubts if they can do more than chip at it. If agriculture is to be made more efficient it must attract and make more use of Capital, meaning by that, not only money but brains. The land (not agriculture), does of course attract money now, but a very small portion of it is used as Capital in the sense that it provides appliances for production. Much lies waste in the artificial price of land, which competition is now in some places driving up to prices little short of that for lands in Europe which give many times the return. Much of it is absorbed in maintaining a population that is pressing without any restraint upon the margin of existence; too large for the area on which it tries to live. Precious little remains to be used as it should be used in producing more efficient agents of further production. Brains on the other hand are not much use unless they are directing a really efficient machine or a good many more bodies than the one in which they happen to be. This means that they require larger holdings and what naturally follows more landless labourers. This class is already fairly rapidly increasing and its fate will certainly be precarious. One could only view with alarm any greatly accelerated increase which would leave it at the mercy of supply and demand. In conclusion one can only reluctantly admit that it is easier to consider aspects of the problem than suggest any radical and practical remedies.

PART II.—REVENUE HISTORY AND THE RESULTANT SYSTEM OF LAND REVENUE.

Chapter I.—Before the acquisition of the Diwani of Bengal by the East India Company.

52. **Early traditional history of the Nadia Raj.**—In the earliest ventures of the East India Company into the intricacies of revenue administration we find the former attempting to treat for the greater part of Nadia with one individual, the representative of the Nadia Raj. The history subsequent to the assumption of the Diwani in 1765 and the permanent settlement is marked by the gradual break-up of this property and by the recognition of an increasing number of other landlords as the proprietors responsible for the revenue. The family which attained this eminence dated its rise to predominance from about a century earlier. According to tradition the foundations of the fortunes of this house grew from the invitation in 1077 A.D. by Adisur, a king of Bengal, to five Brahmins who came from Kanauj to some religious ceremony and were persuaded by the king to settle in Nadia. One of these, Bhattanaraiyan, acquired by purchase and gift several villages and his descendants began to build up a small kingdom. On the death of one of them Kam in 1399 A.D., quarrels arose between his sons, and their claims were reported to the Emperor at Delhi who decided in favour of the eldest Bishanath, as he alone agreed to pay revenue for the kingdom. The favour of the Emperor enabled Bishanath to add to his lands several parganas including Kankdi. Relations with the central power were not however always so fortunate; at the end of the 16th century Kashinath, the then ruling member of the Nadia house, fell into the bad graces of the Emperor Akbar and having first essayed flight was brought a captive to Delhi where he died. His wife sought refuge with the Zemindar of Bagwan pargana, and when the latter died he left his properties to the posthumous son of Kashinath who had been brought up under his protection.

53. **Todar Mal's revenue system.**—About this time (1583) Todar Mal had begun to systematize the revenue administration of the Empire. It is

doubtful how far his system as outlined in the Ain-i-Akbari of Abu Fasl was in real effective working in this part of Bengal, but in theory the province was divided into 19 administrative divisions called Sarkars: Nadia and Ukhra formed part of the Satgaon Sarkar. The latter's revenue was rated at Rs. 4,18,118 Khalsa, besides providing 50 cavalry and 6,000 infantry. Of this amount Nadia and Ukhra mahals together had a revenue of 2,235,180 dams or Rs. 55,879 and Bagwan 100,000 dams or Rs. 2,000. The Satgaon Sarkar was one of the most important in Bengal. It included in the Bhagirathi a great trade route, extended along both banks of the river and embraced Kasimbazar island as a large part of the present districts of Murshidabad and Nadia was known. Comparisons of revenue therefore with subsequent demands are of little value; moreover the amount mentioned above was the Khalsa only, i.e., that which was paid direct to the royal treasury and was exclusive of sums appropriated for special local purposes known as *Jaiqir*. No mention is made in the Ain-i-Akbari of the Nadia Raj nor in fact of many other of the Hindu kingdoms which were undoubtedly in existence. A considerable part of the north-east of the present district was included in Boosnah and some part of the south in Selimabad Sarkar.

54. Shah Shujah's settlement in 1658.—At the second Moghal settlement in 1658 by Shah Shujah, which seems to have been a revision to incorporate intermediate changes rather than a fresh assessment, Ukhra remained as before a part of the Satgaon Sarkar. The revenue for Bengal in this period was shown as having increased by 15½ per cent, the number of Sarkars had risen to 34 and the parganas to 1,350. What share Nadia bore in this increase it is difficult to say, but it may be noted that the enhancement related only to Khalsa revenue.

To revert to the history of the Nadia family; during this period a considerable power was built up by Bhabananda, the grandson of the refugee lady. He had won the approval of Jehangir by services rendered to Mansing in the latter's expedition against Pratapaditya in Jessore. He received the title of Mazumdar or Recorder of the Revenue of Satgaon and was rewarded with the restoration of some of the lost property

and the addition of others including 14 parganas of which Ukhra was one. Further acquisitions were made by Bhabananda's descendants Gopal and Raghab, the latter moving his capital from Matari to Krishnagar and both adding several parganas including Santipur and Raipur to their possessions, the latter obtained from Shah Jehan (1627-1657). After Aurangzeb's accession there were several internal struggles in the Nadia family; the revenues fell into arrears and relations with the Subadah at Dacca were somewhat delicate; more than one of the family was imprisoned; Ramkrishna at Dacca and Raghuram at Murshidabad.

55. Murshid Kuli Khan's settlement, 1722.—The third Moghal settlement of Bengal was made by Murshid Kuli Khan. It resulted in an increase of 29 per cent in 64 years, and it coincided with an important administrative reform. The chakla replaced the Sarkar and the Khalsa collection was let out into 25 collecting divisions styled Intimams, of which Nadia became one. These rather than the chakla became the fiscal divisions. Two-fifths of Ukhra or Nadia fell in chakla Murshidabad and three-fifths in chakla Hooghly or Satgaon. A very considerable part of the rest of the present Nadia district was at this time included in the so-called "Nil chakla" which belonged to the great Zemindari of Rajshahi. Nadia appears to have been assessed at Rs. 6 lakhs odd. According to grant in his "Analysis of the Finances of Bengal" written in 1788 this was an under-assessment. "The district though large and wonderfully fertile in all the dearer productions of Indian soil, capable of an easy and quick transportation by the river Hooghly to all parts and the great foreign settlements of Bengal, hath, from the tolerated corrupt practice of Zemindari defalcations, heightened in the present instance by fraudulent alienations of land or exemptions in the payment of the established dues of Government in favour of inferior members of the same religious caste ever remained prodigiously under-rated in the general assessment of the province."

56. 1722-1763.—Whether Grant's opinion quoted above is correct or not is merely a restatement of the famous Shore-Grant controversy which preceded the Permanent Settlement. The former, basing his conclusions on a long life of practical acquaintance with revenue

administration, contended that Bengal was adequately assessed; the latter with a detailed knowledge of old records and accounts urged the opposite view. During this period, 1722-1766, there were substantial enhancements of revenue, by means of occasional imposts by Murshid Kuli Khan, Shujauddin Khan, Alevirdi Khan, and Kasim Ali Khan in their succeeding tenures of the office of Nizam and Dewan. Murshid Kuli Khan and his successors made no attempt, so far as can be ascertained, to base these enhancements upon any detailed survey of the country's resources. For the most part they were simply an alteration or addition in the existing rate of the Khalsa and were known as *abwabs*; another source of increase was the resumption of concealed surpluses. This was known as *Taufr*: the latter source in Nadia appears to have been relatively large, compared to other districts. Between 1722 and 1756 the increase for Bengal amounted to 29 per cent. and by 1758 the annual (assessed) revenue of Nadia had risen from six to just under nine lakhs. How much of this was actually collected is doubtful. The removal of the capital to Murshidabad at the beginning of the 18th century brought the district under closer administration but conditions were not favourable to smooth administration. The Marathas were occasionally watering their horses in the Bhagirathi and the derelict Moghal Empire was rapidly foundering. At the same time the English were gradually being drawn by the press of events into the political maelstrom which centred round Murshidabad, the outpost of the dying power in Bengal. Clive marched up the western bank of the Bhagirathi on the confines of the district, he halted at Katwa and there resolved to wait neither upon the cessation of the rains or the more favourable balance of forces. He crossed the river and fought the battle of Plassey in the extreme north-west corner of the present district.

Krishna Chandra had succeeded to the Raj in 1728, he had for some time been in fairly close relations with the English at Calcutta and the assistance rendered to Clive during the campaign won him the title of Rajendra Bahadur. Business relations were however less cordial. The Nizam Mir Jafar by his first treaty with the English had agreed to the payment of contributions towards the pay of the joint forces. These fell

into arrears and in 1758 he offered portions of the revenues of Burdwan and Nadia as "Tuncaws" or assignments for the realisation of his dues. Payment was evidently not forthcoming as Scrafton who had been appointed Agent of the Murshidabad Darbar rather unkindly and ungratefully suggested that the Raja of Nadia ought to be threatened "with loss of caste and such corporal punishment as are in practice among these people." These severe measures were apparently not enforced, but the Raja executed an agreement to pay into the Company's factory Rs. 8,35,952 including arrears.

57. Details of increase in revenue from 1722 to 1765.—The details of the increase during the period 1722-1763 and the estimated revenue in the latter year appear in the following abstract of a statement taken from Grant's analysis:—

"Jama Bandhust Tesh Khees Kool," proportionate to the Intimam or Zemin-dari jurisdiction of Bengal in 1763 (or put in less archaic language 'The complete detailed revenue settlement of Nadia Zemindar')."

"Oukerah or Kishenagar to Kishan Chand rather less than its actual dimensions when rated in 1763. dimensions in British Eng. miles, 3,151: Ausil jama Tummary Padshahy of 1722;" (or revenue according to the original royal rent roll of 1722):—

	Rs.
	Micca.
Khalsa i.e., (payment to be made direct to the exchequer) ..	6,03,784
Jaigir (revenue assigned for special local purposes) ..	44,803
Total ..	6,48,587
Ezafa Subadar assessments or (enhancements by the Subadar)—	
	Rs.
Abwabs	3,21,034
Kaifiyat	Nil
Taufr	1,28,758
Total ..	4,49,792
Ausil and Ezafa total ..	10,98,379
Wazeat (deduction) of Messcoorah and Shebandi, i.e., (petty estates and irregular troops pay) ..	7,598
Total net revenue ..	10,90,781

Some idea of the situation of the lands from which these amounts were payable may be gathered from the extract below taken from Grant's analysis. It will be noted that nearly a third of the revenue shown as due was on account of lands situated in other chaklas than Nadia.

Zemindari of Nadia.

Hackikut Jumma, Ausil and Ezafa of this important trust, from the Bengal year 1135, with the establishment of the Toomary Rental of that period to the Company's acquisition of the Dewanny in 1172 according to M. R. Khan's Chuklabundy:—

			Ausil Jama of 1135.
			Rs.
Chuklah Hooghly, Circar Satgam.			
Pargana Aukerah	..	..	66,269
.. Baghwan	..	..	14,704
.. Anwerpoor	..	..	47,035
.. Naudia	..	..	3,949
Then follows a list of 46 other parganas making a total of			4,16,078
Circar Selimabad	..	..	36,663
Chuck Jessore	..	..	62,624
Chuck Murshidabad	..	..	82,152
Chuck Burdwan	..	..	23,901
Chuck Gorahgaut	..	..	14,265
Peshcush pargana Bagwan	..	..	25,333
75 parganas total zemindari in 1135	..	..	6,61,863
Of which Khalsa portion	..	..	6,07,545
Jaigir	..	..	54,318

Then follows a second statement which shows the supposed increase owing to additions and reductions from the area of the zemindari with abwabs and additional enhancements between 1135 and 1172.

Zemindari of Nadia.

Hackikut Jumma, showing the Modakhil and Mokharejer of the Ausil, with abwabs levied on this district, from the year 1135 to 1172:—

		Rs.
Chuck Hooghly as in 1135	..	4,53,279
54 Modakhil or annexations to 1172	..	81,597
		5,34,876
Mokharejeer or dismemberments	..	35,029
..	..	4,99,847
Chuck Burdwan with Modakhil	..	39,810
Chuck Bhoosnah with Modakhil	..	21,545
Chuck Murshidabad with Modakhil	..	82,603
Chuck Jessore with Modakhil	..	1,15,522
Peshcush as in 1135	..	25,000
		7,84,016
Muscoorat charges	..	7,596
		7,76,420

Abwabs to 1172.

			Rs
Khasnovessey	..	..	17,499
Muzeurananah Mokrey	..	..	20,000
Feel Khaneh Mathoot	..	..	28,680
Zer Mathoot	..	..	14,438
Fouberdarry Abwab	..	..	1,209
Ahuck	..	..	20,886
Chout Marhattah	..	..	96,439
Nuzeranneh Munsorgunge	..	..	47,050
Serf-sicca 1½ annas	..	..	74,919
			10,97,454

It may be noted that this represents an increase of 68 per cent. during the years 1722-1763, which is approximately the same rate as that for the province. It has always however been a matter of some doubt how far Grant's figures were correct and if they were, how far realization approximated to estimates.

58. **From the grant of the Dewani to the permanent settlement.**—On August 12th, 1765, the East India Company was appointed Dewan of the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa by the Emperor. This did not mean that the Company in theory assumed complete control, either of the revenue or of the administration; the arrangement was merely that the Company should collect the revenue through the native establishments, bear the expenses of the Nazim's staff and remit twenty-six lakhs of rupees to the Emperor. Mahammad Reza Khan had already been appointed Naib Nazim and he was instated by the Company to perform their Dewani duties as Naib Dewan. The presence of the Company's Resident however at Murshidabad and its ultimate control of the Naib Dewan's person and fortunes rendered him at any rate outwardly subservient to their policy. The directors soon found however that their anticipations of receipts were not realised; it was suspected that while the raiyats at the bottom of the scale were not escaping their share of taxation, a large proportion of their contributions never reached the Company through the various channels up which they had to pass. Grant writing afterwards declared that Nadia, which as shown above should have produced over 10 lakhs, was for no ostensible reason only rated at

Rs. 8,70,000 odd by Mahammed Reza Khan.

59. Appointment of Supravisors.—

In 1769 it was decided to appoint European "Supravisors" who were to report on the conditions and financial resources of the districts assigned to them. The instructions they received were quite impossible to carry out in detail; besides assuring the raiyats that the Company had no intention to enhance rents, but merely to see that there were no evasions, the supravisors were apparently expected to do the work of an Agricultural and Taxation Industrial Commission all rolled into one. Jacob Rider was appointed to Nadia as "Supravisor" and under the control of the Committee at Murshidabad. In the meantime Governor Verelst in collaboration with Beecher had at Murshidabad drawn up proposals for most of the districts; of Nadia he writes as follows: "The Rajah having behaved very ill in retaining a large sum from his malguzary, and (if the general voice is to be credited) having neglected the good of his country, and distressed the raiyats, we are of opinion the most eligible method to be pursued for the security of our employers and the welfare of the raiyats of these districts, would be to deprive the Raja of power, and let the country out to farm for three years. As a great part of the Nadia country lies no great distance from Calcutta, people of substance there were willing to become farmers: and the Ministers, as well as we, judged it right to close with their proposals, which are to pay into the treasury in the present year (*i.e.*, 1769) eight laacks of sicca rupees, in the year 1770 eight laacks-fifty thousand and in 1771 nine laacks per annum for his expenses and a proportion of the changes of the Khellat."

Rider divided the country up into '52 grand divisions' and collected fairly detailed statistics particularly with regard to rent-free alienations. These incidentally mysteriously disappeared about 10 years later when Vansitart and Redfearn attempted to make a comparison of resources with a view to fresh assessment. The result of the Supravisor's reports however were sufficient to satisfy the directors of the corruptness of the existing collecting agency. The Company accordingly decided to 'stand forth as Dewan,' *i.e.* to do away with the native collecting agency and to

undertake directly the work of collection and settlement. The Supravisors were to be responsible for the collection and the settlements were to be made by a Committee of circuit consisting of four members of council, who would visit different parts of the province and conclude their assessment on the spot.

60. The first regular settlement of Nadia, 1772.—

In accordance with this policy the Committee, consisting of Warren Hastings, Philip Milner Dacres, James Lawrell and John Graham, assembled at Krishnagar in June 1772. Their first business was to consider Rider's report. It is interesting to find that the latter after the usual page or two of polite circumlocution proceeds to describe what is evidently the system of Utbandi cultivation: while noting that he had discovered many unauthorised alienations of land he draws attention to the impoverished condition of the country as a result of the dreadful famine of 1769-1770. "Before the extraordinary dearth of 1770 which carried off so many of the inhabitants the Gomastha in the maffasil could say with great insolence to a raiyat. 'If you had not commenced upon the culture of this Jellah there were many that would have been glad of it and therefore you must not expect to be excused anything in your payments whether you turn up the whole of the grounds or not, which is at your own option.' But the case being so miserably altered I apprehend that the greatest encouragement is not only necessary to be given but I do not believe the raiyat will be induced to settle anywhere but upon his own terms, land being so plenty". In spite of this revenue was estimated by Rider at rather over Rs. 12 lacs, a striking increase over previous assessments. The Committee observed that insufficient allowance had been made for the effects of the famine, but as the Raja offered only Rs. 8,25,000 rising to Rs. 9,25,000 for the next 5 years for the whole zemindari excluding a few parganas, the Committee considered the proposal unacceptable: it was resolved that the only way to ascertain its real worth was to put the right to collection up to auction. The result of the settlement was a total rent of Rs. 10,64,530 which with the allowance of Rs. 2 lacs to the Raja Kishan Chand and other deductions gave a net estimated revenue of Rs. 7,54,242 the following is a detailed statement of the settlement.

Abstract of the settlement of the revenue of the province of Nadia containing 50 parganas and for the Bengal year 1179 deducting all charges and exhibiting the nett revenue payable at the Dewanny Cutcherry, viz:—

	Rs.	Rs.
Jama or rent ascertained by the public sale		10,64,530
Allowance to the farmers for the expenses of making their collections, the lands being farmed on a hustabood	51,397	
Collector's allowance and cutcherry officers and servants wages as per arrangement	30,768	
Cutcherry contingent charges per annum	1,560	
Amount ready money allowance to the establishment of Tonnadars and Pykes	9,922	
Allowance to the officers of the adawlet	1,800	
Dawk charges	2,568	
Allowance of the Kanungos at Murshidabad	4,344	
Peshkush to the Tanna Catwa	2,301	
Peshkush to the Marzawnagur	250	
Jaigir of Kirza Erich Cawn	1,778	
General charges including charges of remittances and repairs	3,500	
Poonea charges	100	
Allowance to the Zemindar Rajah Kishen Chand per annum	2,00,000	
Total charges	3,10,288	
Nett revenue		7,54,242

The items in this first District budget are interesting. The amount for postage and contingencies would not meet with the Finance Department's approval to-day; on the other hand the Judicial Department was apparently run with commendable economy, it costing little more than Rs. 100 per month.

61. Settlement with the farmers and the Raja alike unsatisfactory.—As elsewhere settlement with the farmers proved a failure. Far from obtaining from the sales a correct idea of the true value of the property the real assets were obscured by speculation, the raiyats were fleeced and the realisation of dues became increasingly difficult. Matters were further complicated by the changes of policy of the council; the Collectors as the Supravisors were now called found it an impossible task to administer an intricate and unknown system without the help of the native agency corrupt though it might be. The council however were trying to find a cure for these evils first by further centralisation and secondly by concluding settlements for longer terms of years with the zemindars instead of the farmers. In pursuance of the former the committee of circuit gave way to a controlling Committee of revenue at Calcutta, with six "provincial" councils at Murshidabad, Patna, Dacca, Burdwan and Midnapur, Nadia being

subordinate to that at Calcutta. This arrangement did not last long: the provincial councils were abolished in favour of the central Committee, which depended for local information on the Collectors, who were re-appointed, but entrusted with practically no independent authority either in settlement or collection.

In Nadia it appears that the Company vacillated between settlements with the farmers and with the Raja. In 1777 settlement was made with the Raja Sheo Chand but again arrears accumulated; by 1781 these had amounted to 2½ lacs. Vansittart was appointed Collector and was specially instructed to enquire into the deficiency, which said the Board. "We deem fallacious and conceive to originate in fictitious alienations of land made from the *hust-bood* and in favour shewn to his principal officers, particularly a person named Bydetullik who is supposed to have had for many years an influence over the Raja which he has abused to answer the purpose of private emolument." All grants under what ever denominations since 1765 not confirmed by the President in Council were to be deemed to be invalid. Vansittart proposed an annual settlement with farmers and this was approved for the year 1783 by Warren Hastings at Rs. 10,28,276, with an allowance for the Raja, but in 1785 the Company had again gone back to a settlement with the latter. In fact whichever way they turned the council found themselves beset with difficulties; when they settled with the farmers, realization was unsatisfactory and they had no means of enforcing their demands other than to terminate the agreements, while they were continually assailed with complaints from the Raja as to the insufficiency of his *mashaira* or allowance. On the other hand when they settled with the Raja, they were not spared his complaints as to the harshness of the demands, and realization was scarcely less satisfactory. It was not merely that the system of assessment and collection was unsatisfactory. While uneasily suspicious that a good deal of misappropriation was going on, the authorities had to face the fact that the figures at which settlements were concluded were frequently much too high, and reductions had to be made. Shore gives comparative statements of the rentals of different parganas for 1776 and 1788. Kishanagar fell from

Rs. 90,814 to Rs. 76,237, Bagwan from Rs. 95,541 to Rs. 69,001; Plassey from Rs. 81,098 to Rs. 49,774; and as he remarked with some point, natural calamities to which Bengal at about this period seemed unfortunately subject might easily reduce the assets of a parganna by half in a single season. The result was, that from 1783 onwards assessments were made on rather a lower scale and the outstanding balances were much reduced.

62. The reorganisation of 1786.—

Opinion had gradually been growing in favour of more permanent settlements as the only solution, though Shore as a practical administrator insisted that the knowledge of the country's assets was still too inadequate to warrant so drastic a commitment of the Company's resources as a completely permanent settlement. He had however been successful in 1786 in replacing the haphazard authority of supervisors, provincial councils and Collectors over a vague agglomeration of pargannas by a territorial distribution of the country into districts, each under the direct control of a Collector on the present existing lines.

In the meantime the annual settlements with the Raja were continued; so also were his complaints against Redfearn who has succeeded Vansittart as Collector. The former had to bear the brunt of the dissatisfaction which the order of the council had aroused by discontinuing the allowances made to the Zemindar while settlements with the farmers were in effect. The Collector on the other hand found that the Raja was not maintaining the terms of leases enjoyed by the tenants.

63. The decennial settlement made permanent.—While the great financial guns, Shore and Grant, were bombarding each other with minutes in the controversy over the decennial and permanent settlements, the Settlement for 1789 on which both were founded was concluded with Raja Iswar Chand.

The total gross assessment was taken as Rs. 11,46,652; from this there were various deductions including police Rs. 20,000, embankments Rs. 800, collection charges at 5 per cent., and certain small allowance for the members of the Raja's family. The net assessment finally arrived at was Rs. 9,30,720. In the following year Redfearn after separating some of the independent Taluks sent up

his proposals for the decennial settlement. The net assessment with the Raja fell to Rs. 8,58,544, the difference being accounted for by the separation of some of the independent Taluks and the deduction after prolonged correspondence of Saiyer or local duties on goods, license fees, etc., abolished by the Board in 1791. These proposals were accepted and with slight adjustments during the two succeeding years in the direction of an enhancement, became the basis of the permanent settlement.

The correspondence between the various higher authorities with which the Collectors had at different times to deal, as well as the former resolutions on particular settlements tends to create an impression that the attitude of the council was as soulless as that of the conventional Income-tax Collector, that the authorities were continually obsessed with the idea that they were being swindled and that their paramount object, was to secure the revenue with little regard for anyone's interest but their own. Yet when they were dealing with broad questions of policy the minutes of Shore and Cornwallis prior to the permanent settlement show their ideas were neither mean nor unmindful of the best public interest. Shore was appalled at the idea of mortgaging for ever the State's share in the increasing production of the country to a limited class. Cornwallis was convinced that only a sense of permanence would save landlords and their innumerable tenants from exploitation and insecurity. The Company had had nearly 30 years of experiment and the problem of equitable taxation appeared little nearer final solution than at the start. Rather than venture on an apparently interminable course of further experiment, they decided to try the greatest and most irrevocable experiment of all.

64. The permanent settlement.—

The decennial settlement in accordance with the orders of the Court of directors issued in September 1792 was declared to be permanent. Apart from the Raj estates there were a number of others in the district partly originating from pargannas which had belonged to different Zamindaries such as Rajshahi and partly as a result of the separation of the independent Talukdars. The lands of the Rajshahi Zemindari alone apparently provided revenue of approximately 1 lac. According to Hunter at

the time of the decennial settlement the district included 261 different estates held by 205 proprietors with a revenue amounting to Rs. 12,55,325. These figures must be taken as only approximately correct.

Chapter II.—Fiscal History Subsequent to the Permanent Settlement.

The revenue history subsequent to the permanent settlement presents few points of interest apart from the introduction of Indigo cultivation with its peculiar effect on the conditions of land tenure, and the enquiries and legislation connected with Utbandi, which are dealt with in the following chapter.

65. Break up of the Nadia zemindari.—In some parts of the country the enforcement of the sale laws created great dislocation, and this to some extent seems to have been the case in Nadia. The succeeding Rajas found it impossible to maintain intact the very large zemindari the family had for a short period enjoyed. The management of a huge estate even in relatively settled conditions was not efficient enough to provide for the punctual payments which were now necessary. The generous though reckless policy of rent-free alienations pursued by Raja Iswar Chand, further lowered the resources of the estate. In 1803 the estate was under the Court of Wards but in 1805 it was restored to Raja Girish Chandra Roy. As early as 1806 a substantial share of the Alampur and Ukrah pargannas with a collection of Rs. 1,30,804 had been sold to Sambhu Chandra Pal and Kristo Chand Pal.

Parganna Ukrah at the decennial settlement had been assessed at Rs. 1,61,070: by 1810 alienations had reduced it to Rs. 1,33,988; in 1811 there were further sales involving deductions amounting to Rs. 35,000 odd and in 1813 the whole estate was put to sale for the realisation of judicial dues and Government revenue. As a result the lands left were found only sufficient to bear a revenue of approximately Rs. 72,000. This process of disintegration went on fairly rapidly and the chief preoccupation of the revenue authorities was the creation of the separate estates resulting and the adjustment of their revenue. By 1809 it was reported that there were no less

than 886 estates which paid their revenue immediately to Government. The process continued for the next 50 years: by 1850 the number of estates had grown to 3,064 while the revenue had decreased to Rs. 11,74,490. At the present time the total number of estates has risen to over 3,500 and the revenue has dropped to a little over Rs. 9 lacs. The decrease has been due to the transfer of some of the larger estates to the rolls of other districts and to a reduction in the area of the district.

66. Subinfeudation.—Another feature which is usually regarded as a distinctive result of the Permanent Settlement is the creation of a class of middlemen holding a series of permanent interests below the grade of proprietor. Though the Permanent Settlement encouraged the growth of this class it was certainly not responsible for their origin. There are continual references in the correspondence prior to the permanent settlement to "under-renters" and subinfeudation was a well established system as early as 1809 as will appear from the following quotation from a letter of the Collector of that year which draws attention to it and to the evil effects—"The great source of their oppression and complaints is derived from the number of under-renters, for an under-renter instead of keeping the whole of his farm in hand parcels it out at an increased rate to an under-farmer called a Kut-kinadar who in like manner gives a portion at a still greater advance of rate to a Dar-Kut-kinadar and even he again rents whole villages to opulent Mondals, so that the raiyats are racked to the utmost possible and are often obliged to fly in consequence".

As in several other districts the realization of revenue was seriously affected by the depredations of dacoits. Nadia was particularly bad in this respect, and the Collector excuses his bad collections on this ground. One gang consisting of about 500 men was led by a Muhammadan and two Bagdies. The chief Biswanath subsequently acquired something of the reputation of a Robinhood who helped the poor but spared not the rich except the Raj.

67. Rent-free lands and resumption.—The large alienations of lands free of any rent charges, which have endowed the Raj with a reputation that still lives, of patronage of piety and

learning had throughout been a source of much annoyance to the council and the Board of Revenue. They are continually referred to as the main cause of under-assessment and unsatisfactory collection. When Cotterel the Collector was removed in 1773, the control of the Committee of Revenue which replaced Collectors was very ineffective and it was suspected that many of the alienations were made during this period. The records of the rent-free lands, which Rider had collected before 1773, were concealed while the estates were under the management of the Raja and the farmers; and as a matter of fact they apparently never came to light till 1837 when the Board began to tackle the question of resumption seriously.

According to Rider's figures the area of *lakheraj* lands amounted to 3½ lacs of bighas of which sanads had been registered for about Rs. 3½ lacs. On examination in 1840 the area in the registers was found to be just under 369,000 bighas, the difference probably owing to some of the pages of the register being missing. The alienations made between 1773 and 1840 were not only those of the Raja, but to an almost equal extent of the purchasers who had acquired portions of the *zemin-dari* as it broke up after the permanent settlement. The Board estimated that upwards of 15 lacs of bighas had been improperly registered by 1793. The extent registered in 1840 was as follows: non-royal grants of 1795, 43,500 covering 20 lacs bighas; original Taidads or royal grants, 207 covering 9,182 bighas; and non-royal grants of 1802, 1,405 covering 6,958 bighas.

The special Deputy Collectors, who were appointed to resume the invalid rent-free tenures, were instructed to resume any area of whatever size outside a permanently-settled estate. Of tenures found within a permanently-settled estate, only those of more than 100 bighas held under impeachable title were to be resumed. It is not known what was the exact extent of the resumptions at this period. It is apparent however that they were fairly extensive. In the Raja's estates alone 69,000 bighas with a *jama* of Rs. 29,000 were recommended for resumption and if proceedings of a similar scale were conducted in other estates, the increase in the total revenue would have been very much greater than was the case. It is

probable therefore that many of the other proprietors escaped. The Raj family was hard hit by these resumptions.

Prior to the permanent settlement successive Rajas had represented to the council the inadequacy of their allowance. These complaints continued more or less continually up to 1840. Raja Girish Chandra was reported to be "in a very poor and miserable condition," the only property he possessed was 9 mahals paying an annual revenue of Rs. 33,000 with profits of about Rs. 13,000.

The Raja attributed his disabilities to the resumption of the rent-free land; and asked for their relinquishment. The Board however were not satisfied that he had any valid claim to these and replied that mismanagement had been the cause of his misfortunes. They were of opinion that an allowance was preferable to any relinquishment, which was not justified on legal grounds, and which might raise awkward precedents.

In addition to the extinction of invalid rent-free tenures, resumption began fairly actively along the courses of the rivers which attracted much more attention than they do to-day owing to their prospective importance as trade routes.

Indigo Cultivation and its effect on the land system.

68. History of the indigo industry.—The agrarian troubles connected with the actual cultivation and manufacture of indigo have disappeared with the industry itself, and as they have only an historical interest they are not dealt with in detail here. Full accounts are to be found in the Indigo Commissioner's report of 1860, the minute of the Lieutenant Governor upon it and in the District Gazetteer. The following very brief resumé however is inserted. Indigo was apparently cultivated and manufactured in a primitive way before the Permanent Settlement. As early as 1810 licenses were granted to four European planters "to reside in the interior" but these were withdrawn for some grave offences. Up to 1850-1860 the history was one of rapid expansion and prosperity. Indigo factories dotted the country and the advantages of an alternative and fertilising crop in addition to rice benefited the tenantry;

though agreements between the industry and labour were in many cases undoubtedly harsh. In early days there were frequent boundary disputes between rival planters, for much of the best indigo land lay along the rivers where permanent marks were lacking. Small armies or navies sallied forth along the chars or up the rivers and met their opponents in affrays which sometimes amounted to minor battles. The creation of the Planters' Association however and the gradual enforcement of order put an end to these disturbances. The next trouble took the form of a clash between the planters and tenants. Many causes in combination brought about the indigo riots of 1860. Prices of food crops had risen, with the result that indigo cultivation left little or no margin of profit to the cultivators. The latter were not only bound by irksome forms of contract regarding the use to which they put their lands but by indebtedness on account of advances. Inadequate supervision and acts of oppression by the subordinate staff as well as by some of the planters kindled a growing resentment which was otherwise largely justified on economic grounds. The crash came in 1860. For a time the industry was entirely disorganised, but the better managed factories weathered the storm. The recovery however was not very long lived. By the eighties the competition of artificial dyes was undermining the prosperity of the industry and several years before the Great War cultivation had practically ceased. There was a small temporary revival during the war, but it was only the expiring flicker. To all intents and purposes the industry is now dead. The great indigo concerns have either disappeared or been converted into pure zemindari businesses, of which the Midnapur Zemindari Company is by far the largest. This has left a tinge of commercialism about land-owning in the district which is not so apparent elsewhere.

69. Its deep effect on the land system.—It is not surprising that the Indigo Industry has left behind it a legacy of complexities and anomalies in the land system. It was not merely the introduction of a crop requiring new methods of cultivation, but it involved to a large extent the substitution of large scale production by comparatively big organisations for the independent efforts of small cultivators. This change

was made by devious adaptations of institutions and relationships which had grown up under entirely different conditions.

Previous to 1829 Europeans were prohibited from holding lands as proprietors in India, but the possibilities of profit from indigo cultivation had for some time before that tempted them to acquire *sub rosa* some hold upon the land—a state of affairs which in the words of the Governor-General of the time led to “fraud, inconvenience and litigation, alike injurious, to success of trade, to the peace of the community, and to the character of our countrymen.” It was after the restrictions were removed that planters were at liberty to acquire permanent rights in the soil, but they did not of course do so solely as proprietors.

70. Centralisation of control over the tenants.—To secure a supply of indigo for the factories the planters had recourse to two systems which were known as “Neezabad” or “Rayatee;” that is, they either grew the crop themselves with hired labourers often imported or else contracted with the existing cultivators to grow it for them. In the latter case the raiyats were usually supplied with the seed at a price below the market rate and undertook to adjust the advances when they brought in the crop. In big concerns the outstanding advances amounted to large sums as much as 2 lacs or £20,000 at the then rate of exchange is mentioned in one case. In order to secure a continuous supply of the crop and no less to maintain some hold by which they could ensure the repayment of advances, the planters found it essential to be able to deal with the cultivators as their landlords and they made use of every device to place themselves in this position. Though many indigo planters became proprietors, competition among them for land on the one hand and the disinclination of the original proprietors to part with their estates on the other led to the acquisition of all grades of interests besides the premier one of proprietors. The fact that the crop could often not be grown continuously on the same land meant that the total area required was large, but as it was not every soil which was suitable, their acquisition had to be more or less selective. The result was that a permanent tenure such as a *patni* relating to particular villages or even temporary leases often afforded sufficient

control over the tenants, provided the superior interests were not encumbered with the rights of co-sharers. In order to gain complete control over the tenants of a mouza, the planter therefore either bought up all other interests or himself took leases from the other landlords so as to bring himself into direct contact with the tenants to the exclusion of everyone else. Thus the planter's desire to consolidate his property is reflected to-day in a system of tenure which has concentrated into the hand of one man holding diverse interests and grades the 16-annas landlordship over the cultivating raiyats. In consequence the subinfeudation has often become rather complicated and the results in other ways are not quite healthy. In dealing with his tenants the landlord can show a united front armed with an executive that is not blunted by the cross-purposes or irresolution of any co-sharer.

71. Acquisition of large raiyatis.—Some of the best lands for indigo were the low-lying alluvial accretions or islands in the river beds, places where there were either no pre-existing rights or where they were in dispute. It was natural that these disputed lands could best be defended or attacked by the planters themselves and their own servants. At any rate it is on these lands that large raiyatis are now found which the present possessors trace back to settlements taken by planters for the cultivation of indigo. These lands were cultivated directly by the planters themselves through their hired labourers and this resulted in somewhat perplexing cases. For instance it is now often found that the landlords who had sublet most of their land now claim to hold certain interests as raiyats. The interests often covered more than 100 bighas. It transpired that in the indigo days the landlord had cultivated indigo, but to-day the land was nearly all in the *khash* possession of cultivators. The landlords have sometimes emphasized the voidable nature of the cultivators' interests by making them pay fresh *salami* at the expiry of every five years or else substituted a system of *bhag* for cash rents. In the south of the Jessore border the results of the indigo planters' efforts to gain control of land were different. Here they found no Utbandi system to turn to account, and there were no alluvial accretions on which they could secure raiyati status. They therefore took as under-raiyats

large blocks of land from the holdings of different raiyats and let them out to another grade of under-raiyats under them for the cultivation of indigo. The identity of the different parcels of land with their original holdings was lost, and in the block cultivation used in indigo, all the old ails were obliterated. When the planters also owned permanent middle interests over the raiyats the holdings so encroached on were called *Hajat Jamas*, since the raiyats in paying rent to the planters deducted the amount due in respect of the land of their holdings taken by the planters. The same result was also brought about, when indigo planters settled Bunos or aboriginals imported for indigo manufacture and took over blocks of land for these Bunos to make their houses on. Now that the planters in this area have gone, they have left a fine heritage of confusion behind. The successors-in-interest to the planters pay rents to the raiyats, but nobody knows for what land which raiyat is entitled to rent. In one place before they left the country these planters in respect of the land for which they were under-raiyats gave *mokarari* leases on a large scale for which they received *salami*. So the whole legal position is topsy-turvy and a pyramid of subinfeudation has been raised on a point which has neither position nor magnitude.

72. Expropriation of raiyats.—But from a more general point of view, the two features of indigo cultivation which have left the deepest impression on the land system are (1) the shifting cultivation of the crop, and (2) the practice of Neezabad cultivation. The former tended to break the continuity of association of the cultivator with particular lands. The latter has left landlords with considerable blocks of land which they once cultivated by hired labour. With the disappearance of indigo, cultivation of these lands has ceased to be carried on by the landlords themselves, but they view with jealousy the accrual of permanent or occupancy rights, although the changed conditions sanctioned them. In short, indigo cultivation has deflected the development of the land system of Nadia from normal lines by stimulating the life of the Utbandi system and familiarising the people with the conception of tencies-at-will. In the north and centre of the district some indigo planters like Babu Nafar Chandra Pal Chaudhury made full use

of proviso III to section 29 and used Utbandi to realize economic rents. Within the jurisdiction of the Shikarpur concern in Karimpur and Daulatpur thanas the policy is to perpetuate a tenantry-at-will. Where the concern has permanent middle interests, Utbandi is used as a lever for shifting raiyats from field to field. Indigo was still grown by the firm principally along the sides of the Matabhanga; and here we find Utbandi in its purest form. The land is divided up afresh every two years among raiyats who agreed to grow indigo on condition of getting a *rabi* crop grown with the indigo free of rent and the paddy crop the next year when indigo is not grown, for which they pay rent. It was not the least good our mapping the separate fields and recording tenants as in possession, for by attestation, the configuration of the whole area would be changed and new lots of tenants introduced into fields of different shape and different area. Where the firm have no permanent middle interests, they secure a tenantry-at-will in a different way. Indigo lands being alluvial lands frequently form parts of temporarily-settled estates. The firm has throughout a succession of temporary settlements, some of them made under the Bengal Tenancy Act, got itself recorded as a settled raiyat and the cultivators under it as Korfadars. On the lands which are no longer used for indigo cultivation, it has introduced the *bhag-jote* system. That is, rents have been fixed on an estimate of the value of half the produce and range up to Rs. 4 per bigha. While these high rents have been imposed on the tenants the compensation of the *bhag* system are not allowed them—a rent fluctuating according to good or bad seasons; the rent must be paid every year and paid in cash. Another method is to supply half the seeds to cultivators among whom each year a *de novo* allotment of land is made, and then the firm sells the produce of the block and divides half the price realized among the cultivators in proportion to the area cultivated by each.

All these devices are contrary to the whole spirit of the relations between landlord and tenant which has informed the land system of India from the dawn of history, and only emphasizes the inappropriateness of applying to this country the theory and practice of England in respect of the rights and ownership of land and the difficulty which

besets the landlord in this country who tries to use land as a commercial asset.

73. Effect of Indigo on population.—

There are two other effects which indigo cultivation has had more or less indirectly on the agrarian condition for the country. The first is upon the population. In spite of the fact that the great fever epidemic had begun in Nadia before 1870 the population apparently increased fairly rapidly till 1880 and remained more or less stationary till 1901 when it began a rapid decline. The balance of economic wealth turned during the latter period more decidedly in favour of Eastern Bengal where jute ousted indigo as the valuable crop of Bengal. A similar shifting of the median of population density was undoubtedly due to the deterioration in health of central Bengal, but the change of crop must also have played a large part.

The final point is connected with the employment of population. Indigo cultivation by large concerns required a numerous staff. Much of this has survived and battens on the tenantry by means of the Utbandi system. Nadia enjoys the unenviable reputation of having by far more landlords' agents in relation to the number of the cultivating class than any district in Bengal. The proportion is 1 to 254.

Chapter III.—The system of tenure known as "Utbandi".

74. What is "Utbandi"?—"Utbandi" colours so largely the background of the Nadia system of land tenure that it is most conveniently dealt with in a separate chapter, before proceeding to a description of the general relations of landlord and tenant throughout the district.

Various derivations have been ascribed to the word. At one of the departmental examinations a perplexed candidate, when asked to define "Utbandi", drew a bow at an etymological venture and described the tenure as relating to land reserved for tethering camels from *unt* and *bando*. A less ingenious but more probable version is given in one of the early reports, which says "Utbandi" means assessment according to cultivation from *uthit*—risen—cultivated (*cf.* *patit*—fallen—uncultivated) and *bandi*—bandabust—assessment.

Whether the latter derivation is correct or not it indicates the nature of the system. "Utbandi" has never been very successfully defined and the final trend of the recent discussions is to avoid definition of an institution so general and varying. For the Settlement Department the most authoritative, and for general purposes perhaps the best, description is to be found in the "Technical Rules" which read as follows: "The holding is not fixed either in area or in position but consists of a variable parcel or parcels of land ascertained by a measurement or inspection made at least once a year. The rent is paid for each year or season in respect of the parcel or parcels of land which has been ascertained by the said measurement or inspection to have been, during the year or season in question, in the cultivation of the raiyat. This is a legal system of raiyati tenancy. The two essential features of the system are: (a) the fluctuating character of the lands in the holdings; (b) the measurement or inspection made at least once a year, with a view to the assessment of the rent."

75. Effects of its peculiarities.—The essential feature, namely, the assessment of rent based on cultivation, is easily intelligible, and at first sight it seems strange that it should have given rise to any difficulties of legal definition or practical trouble in working. But because such a system is in theory essentially flexible, continually adjusting rents to continually varying conditions of cultivation, it is bound to take indefinitely varying forms in actual practice. Methods and periods of assessment, rates and rents, change from time to time and from place to place with the fluctuating agrarian conditions from which they arise. Consequently generalisations either in the form of definitions or remedies for the system's defects are extremely difficult to apply.

This theoretical flexibility has also another result. The system really requires, for effective working, conditions in which relations are mainly governed by contract, and free contract at that. But the usual relationship of landlord and tenant in Bengal is anything but flexible: it is based mainly not on contract, but on status; tenants are classified into easily recognised groups, their rights and obligations are rigidly defined and

within the groups perfectly uniform. To this normal theory of land-tenure the Utbandi system is quite alien and the conflict between the two explains the issues which have arisen in the controversy.

(1) It accounts for the attitude of the landlords who disliked any attempt to limit their freedom to contract which was theoretically part of the system.

(2) It explains also the restlessness of the tenants who had none of the rights which they enjoyed in the normal system based on status and whose freedom of contract under the ordinary law was limited, if limited at all, in their own interests.

(3) It explains also the difficulties of Government in applying in the form of legislation the principles which underlie the rest of the land laws, and the disfavour with which it regarded the continuance of the system except in the very special circumstances where it appeared to be economically justified.

76. The early history of "Utbandi".—The tenure is of course bound up with the system of periodical fallowing, which the pooriness of the Nadia soil has in many parts of the district forced upon the cultivator. Elsewhere this form of shifting cultivation, the outcome of primitive conditions, when land was plentiful and population sparse, had long ago given place to settled cultivation and the recognition of the cultivator's permanent interest in the soil. For several reasons however it persisted in Nadia, though even 60 years ago its contrast with the general view of the relative claims of landlord and tenant to the land had begun to cause ill-feeling.

This appears in the first detailed official reference* to Utbandi which is found in Mr. Montessor's report dated May 17th, 1861. As many of the subsequent accounts are evidently taken from this, it is worth quoting.

*Jacob Rider, Collector, in a letter dated 10th June 1772 to Warren Hastings refers to what is evidently "Utbandi" as follows: "From the information I can get, the lands in every village have been Time out of Mind regularly divided (.....) marked out for renting to the greatest advantage and a raiyat taking possession of any lands belonging to these divisions was immediately considered as proprietor and responsible for the whole. For it must be understood that the particular poverty of the soil renders it necessary for a farmer whose circumstances enable him to till 10 bighas (.....) do possess 20, the land not yielding for more than three years, the other the while laying waste though fattening for its succession to the place."

The Utbandi tenure apparently has its origin in this district, and is peculiar to Nadia. There is in almost every village, particularly those in the northern parts of the district, a certain quantity of land not included in the rental of the raiyat, and which therefore belongs directly to the recognised proprietor of the estate. This fund of unappropriated land has accumulated from deserted holdings of absconded tenants, from lands gained by alluvion, from jungle lands recently brought into cultivation by persons who hold no lease, and from lands termed *khas khamar*, or messuages on which raiyats have never been settled, the term *khamar* signifying land retained by the proprietor for his household.

In other districts lands of the three first descriptions are at once leased out to tenants; but in Nadia it appears to be different. Owing either to the supineness of the landlord or to the paucity of the inhabitants, a custom has originated from an indefinite period, of the raiyats of a village cultivating, without the special permission of the landlord, portions of such lands at their own will and pleasure. This custom has been recognised and established by the measurement of the lands at the time the crop is standing, through an officer, on the part of the landlord styled *Halsunnah*, and when the assessment is accordingly made. The rate for the Utbandi is generally about double that of the village lands included in the jumman or rental of the raiyat.

Montessor had been deputed to enquire into the complaints of some European proprietors of the district and the criticism which he makes on the system are that the tenants were liable to eviction from Utbandi lands at any time of year, without notice and that the execution of decrees of ejectment caused frequent disputes owing to the difficulty of distinguishing "Utbandi" from "Jamai" lands. Though he drew attention to these grievances of the tenants, it is clear from his account of the source of Utbandi lands that he applies the traditional conception of landownership to the zamindars' rights and regards all lands not specifically leased as at the absolute disposal of the zamindar. The original source of Utbandi lands is not now of much practical importance, but it is worth noting that the earliest account is written from this standpoint and that it omits altogether what is now one of the most common accretions to the stock of Utbandi lands, namely, the conversion, on sale for arrears of rent, of raiyati holdings in which cultivators have enjoyed permanent rights.

The system does not seem to have attracted much attention until the discussions on the Bengal Tenancy Bill in

1883-84. This was not because it was on the wane. On the contrary, though a survival of primitive conditions, the tenancy at the time of the early accounts showed no signs of dying out. According to Hunter* "the land agent of the largest zamindar in the district says that the Utbandi system is on the decrease, but he stands alone in this opinion amongst those whom the Collector consulted. The present large number of Utbandi tenures in Nadia district is attributed by the Collector to the breaking up of other more stable tenures by the famine of 1865-66 and by the epidemic which prevailed in the district from 1861 to 1868". The cultivation of indigo was another and probably equally effective agent in the preservation of the system. It was peculiarly adapted for the cultivation of that crop and attention was diverted from any defects the tenure may have had by other grievances connected with the industry.

77. Utbandi in the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885.—At any rate at the time of the discussions no very detailed enquiries appear to have been thought necessary. Local officers however described the tenure as found in their districts and it was clear from these reports that it would be difficult to apply the principles of the intended legislation to this particular system without doing violence to one or the other. Two extreme lines of action might have been taken. Utbandi tenants might either be denied the protection afforded to other raiyats, or the general principles of the Act might be applied and be allowed to break up the system. As a matter of fact some sort of compromise was made; tenants were not to acquire occupancy rights immediately, but only after 12 years' occupation. It was hoped perhaps that this would allow the system to continue where it was economically justified and automatically bring the main principles of security for the cultivator into play where it was not. Accordingly section 180 of the Act as finally drafted ran as follows:—

Utbandi chur and Diara lands.

"180. (1) Notwithstanding anything in this Act, a raiyat—

(a) who, in any part of the country where the custom of Utbandi

* Hunter's statistical Account of Bengal, Volume II, page 73.

prevails, holds land ordinarily let under that custom and for the time being let under that custom, or

(b) who holds land of the kind known as chur or diara,

shall not acquire a right of occupancy—

in case (a) in land ordinarily held under the custom of Utbandi and for the time being held under that custom, or

in case (b) in the chur or diara land, until he has held the land in question for twelve continuous years; and, until he acquires a right of occupancy in the land, he shall be liable to pay such rent for his holding as may be agreed on between him and his landlord.

(2) Chapter VI shall not apply to raiyats holdings land under the custom of Utbandi in respect of land held by them under that custom.

(3) The collector may, on the application of either the landlord or the tenant on a reference from the Civil Court, declare that any land has ceased to be chur or diara land within the meaning of this section, and thereupon all the provisions of this Act shall apply to the land."

The reasons for placing Utbandi tenant under the special disabilities of section 180 in 1885 are quite intelligible. Though several officers had condemned the system, the general picture presented by the earlier reports showed the landlord and the tenant as parties on more or less equal terms. There is a suggestion of a surplus of land from which the tenant selects new plots, as those he previously occupied became exhausted by cultivation. To allow a settled raiyat to obtain permanent interests in a plot, the moment he cultivated it, would have been somewhat anomalous in such conditions. But to secure occupancy rights to a tenant as soon as he became associated with a particular plot for a reasonable length of time, would seem to be quite in keeping with the conditions pictured and the general spirit of the Act, hence the 12 years' continuous possession rule. Unfortunately the picture of the earlier reports no longer represents the economic conditions of the present day, with its growing pressure on the soil and its increased competition for land. Legislation designed

for one set of facts works harshly where it has now to apply to another.

Though the considerations referred to above might be quoted as justifying the inclusion of section 180 in the Act it was not they, but the needs of the Indigo Industry which was really responsible for its insertion.

At the time the Bengal Tenancy Bill was under discussion the view held by the Local Government* was that no special provisions in regard to Utbandi were necessary and the Government of India† was advised that Utbandi lands should be treated like *halhasila* lands, i.e., that they should be treated as ordinary raiyati holdings. So section 214 of the Bill ran as follows:—"Nothing in this Act shall affect the condition, customary or otherwise, under which land is held on either of the systems known as Utbandi and the *jalthashila* system."

The Select Committee appointed to consider the draft Bill however took a different view. Paragraph 56 of the further report reads as follows:—"We have in section 180 put Utbandi lands, on the footing on which char lands were placed by section 213 of Bill No. 11, that is to say, no occupancy rights will be acquirable in them until they have been held for 12 continuous years and meantime the tenant will be bound to pay whatever rent may be agreed on between him and his landlord. We have further provided that Chapter VI of the Bill shall not apply to such lands."

Mr. Amir Ali dissented in the following terms:—"I demur also to the provision embodied in the Bill regarding Utbandi tenures. This provision seems to me to be in direct contradiction to the views of the Secretary of State and the Government of India, that 'shifting' should be put an end to. The Utbandi provisions recognised and legalised the eviction of a raiyat at the caprice of the landlord. I had no objection to the proposals of the Bengal Government, to allow land on the Utbandi system to be a matter for contract, but I have strong objection to the Utbandi raiyat being left as this Bill leaves him without any practical protection whatever."

*Bengal Government's letter No. 972 (T. R.), dated 27th September, 1883, addressed to the Government of India, paragraph 8.

†Bengal Government letter No. 1906 (T. R.), dated 15th September 1884, paragraphs 79 and 80.

In singling out Utbandi tenants for special disabilities in the matter of acquiring occupancy rights, the committee's views conformed to those expressed by two among the District Officers who were consulted. They were Sir C. C. Stevens of the 24-Parganas, who did not even advocate the accrual of occupancy rights which section 180 provided, and Mr. Taylor of Nadia, who considered that the system was beneficial to the raiyats. The weight, however, which one may suppose the Committee should have attached to these views was to some extent diminished by the fact that Sir C. C. Stevens was speaking not of Nadia, but of the 24-Parganas, where he notes that the Utbandi area was daily becoming less and less; while Mr. Taylor's report appeared to be at variance with previous expressions of his opinion in 1882, when he recommended the abolition of Utbandi in khas mahals on the ground that this would extend cultivation and improve agriculture.

What doubtless gave the Committee the deciding impetus in the direction they took was the indigo interest. The Utbandi system was peculiarly acceptable to the indigo planters, not only because it gave them the close control over the raiyats which was essential to secure the cultivation of a special crop, but because the shifting of tenants fitted in with the rotation of crops which was a feature of indigo cultivation. At the time of the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act the indigo interest was still strong in the districts, it was also strong on the Committee itself. It is more than a matter of conjecture that the special disabilities of the Utbandi raiyat were introduced into the Act under the influence of Mr. Griffith Evans, who filled an important law office under the Crown at the time of the passing of the Act, who was a member of the Select Committee which considered the draft, and who publicly advocated the interests of the Indigo Industry in his speeches in Council. He was related by marriage to the Hills, one of the biggest indigo families of Nadia.

78. Special enquiry into the system in 1902-03.—Shortly after the new legislation the Indigo Industry rapidly decayed; other crops which involved less rotation or shifting of tenants were substituted and much of the utility of the system disappeared. There was no general disturbance, but apparently a

certain amount of irritation was making itself felt and in 1899 a remark in the Board's Report on the Administration of Land Revenue attracted the attention of Government and resulted in a detailed investigation by local executive and judicial officers. The results of the enquiry were reviewed by Mr. Finucane, then Commissioner of the Presidency Division.* The reports contain descriptions of the system made by previous observers, some typical instances of prevailing rates, and an estimate of the extent of the system based on the examination of a considerable number of cess returns. They all agree in damning the system. Mr. Finucane summarised the results of the enquiry as follows:—(a) there appear to be several different systems which are all known as the Utbandi system; (b) the characteristic of all the different systems is that the tenant by law acquires no rights of occupancy in Utbandi land till he has held it for 12 years, and in practice never acquires these rights and has either to pay whatever rent the landlord chooses to demand or vacate the land; (c) the proportion of Utbandi lands to *jamai* is much larger than is generally supposed, being 5 to 3; (d) the Utbandi rates are about double the rates paid for *jamai* land; and (e) the Utbandi system is one of pure and simple rack-renting.

He suggested three possible remedies—(1) a survey to be followed by the fixing of fair rents and the abolition of the system in lands no longer fallowed; (2) an amendment of section 180, which would provide that after a fixed period the custom of letting lands on the Utbandi system should be deemed not to prevail any longer and that all provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act should apply; and (3) the Collector to be empowered to declare that the custom had ceased to prevail in respect of particular lands, in the same manner as was already provided for the case of char lands.

None of these suggestions however were adopted. Government favoured at any rate for the time being a policy of *laissez-faire*; it was recognized that the system was theoretically objectionable, but it was also admitted even by its opponents that there was no reason to fear agrarian trouble. The condition

*Letter from Commissioner of the Presidency Division to the Board of Revenue No. 169 Con., dated 4th September 1902.

of the Nadia tenantry was also admittedly bad, but the blame for this had previously been cast upon the unhealthy reputation of the district, and in the absence of really reliable and comprehensive statistics, there was some hesitation in shifting the responsibility on to the system of land-tenure or in deciding that immediate remedies in that direction were necessary. It was decided therefore to postpone any further action until Government was in possession of the fuller information which would be collected as the district came under survey in the normal course of the provincial programme of settlement.

Before the Nadia settlement party came on the ground, however, the problem had already been encountered by the Rajshahi settlement along the diara lands on the south side of the Ganges both in Murshidabad and Nadia districts and it was after a conference between the representatives of Government and the landlords that the description quoted at the beginning of the chapter and embodied in the technical rules was drafted.

79. Utbandi in the Nadia settlement operations.—Before dealing with details and figures it is convenient to summarise the important facts which have come to light during the recent operations. They are:—(1) the existence of a large number of tenancies which pass under the name of Utbandi, but do not exhibit its essential characteristics. Since it is the latter and not the former criterion which must determine whether section 180 of the Bengal Tenancy Act should apply to such tenancies, the settlement staff have had to divide them into two classes of (a) nominal and (b) real Utbandi; (2) the above distinction had been recognised by few landlords, the majority of whom either denied all occupancy rights to Utbandi tenants, or applied indiscriminately the limitation imposed by section 180 on the accrual of occupancy rights, to real Utbandi tenancies, to which the system properly applied and to nominal Utbandi tenancies to which it did not; (3) on the other hand, tenants have not always realised the precarious nature of their interest in real Utbandi holdings. In many instances they have been accustomed for generations to return without interference to the same plots after the interval of fallowing. It was only in very rare instances that tenants

could prove this custom to have crystallized into a legal right, but throughout the district many landlords did not in practice exercise their right of interference with this customary re-entry. According to a strict interpretation of the law, however, the position was fairly clear; unless he had acquired rights of occupancy, as soon as a tenant ceased to cultivate it, the land reverted to the possession of the landlord and the tenant retained no lien on it. But in many parts of the district, legal theory was contrary to local sentiment and usage, particularly in the west, where Utbandi plots are often treated as heritable; (4) the system originally associated with poor soil, cyclical fallowing, and unsettled cultivation, has undergone changes where those conditions no longer exist. For instance, many plots are now never left fallow; on the other hand tenants sometimes pay rent for them when they are. Both these peculiarities were found to be consistent with the persistence of real Utbandi because the process of annual measurement and assessment, though it has been modified, may be retained and the limits of the holding may change; (5) in the course of determining what rents were legal it was found that the system gave great scope for unjustifiable enhancements, particularly by devious manipulations of rates and standards of measurements; and (6) statistics have now been collected which throw into prominence the heavy incidence of rents on land held under the system.

80. The distinction between nominal and real Utbandi.—The word Utbandi is liable to rather loose use. Before dealing with the distribution of the system and its effect on the tenantry it is necessary to refer to some of the different implications of the term and to deal with two distinctions regarding its use. The first is between "nominal" and "real Utbandi." When the record came to be prepared this distinction soon appeared to be vital, because while both parties frequently spoke of, and regarded their agreement as, "Utbandi," it often did not conform to the relationship known to the law by that name. After prolonged discussions, the characteristics of the type of Utbandi as known to the law, were generally recognized and it only remained to apply the agreed criteria to, mark off as real Utbandi those tenancies which had the true legal

incidents in common. Separate statistics were kept for each class, and this is apt to give, to what are described as "nominal Utbandi" tenancies a definite character which they do not really possess. The term does not cover a separate class of tenancies with common characteristics distinguishable from ordinary raiyati holdings in the same way as they are distinguishable from "real Utbandi." "Nominal Utbandi" has no general legal incidents; it is simply the residuum of tenancies to which section 180 might *prima facie* apply, but does not. It is a tenancy which has failed to pass the tests of annual measurement and variability of holding, which are the agreed attributes of real Utbandi. Such a tenancy may be merely a decadent form of ordinary Utbandi, which has only just lost the essential characteristics of the latter, or it may be identical in every respect with an ordinary raiyati, except that by an accident of local usage it is called either Utbandi or some similar term which is usually applied to tenancies of that kind. The methods by which the two classes were distinguished is fully discussed in paragraph 80 but at the risk of repetition the following general description is given here. It will be remembered that the two essential features of the system are:—(a) the fluctuating character of the lands in the holdings; and (b) the measurement or inspection made at least once a year, with a view to the assessment of rent.

There were of course many cases where the tests could be applied without difficulty, that is, where the limits of the holding were admitted to be fixed or the landlords made no pretence of maintaining a system of measurement.

Two factors obscured the precise classification:—(1) tenants were often found to be paying rent for fallow land and claiming a right of re-entry in the plots they had previously left for fallowing. Both of these peculiarities pointed to a holding of fixed limits which could not be Utbandi, yet where they were also accompanied by instances of part surrender, it was clear that this did satisfy the test of variation in the limits of the holding; and (2) the different methods of assessment and measurement were followed with varying degrees of simplicity and efficiency and it was difficult to determine which of them passed the test of "an annual

measurement and assessment." The Settlement Officer reported these peculiarities at the end of the first attestation season and the following account is compiled from his reports.

The view envisaged in the earlier reports is of an ebb and flow over an infertile tract, and the landlord appears in the picture as an active agent busied in keeping pace with the movement and translating it into bighas and rates and rent in his assessment papers.

Now it was not uncommon to find that in the matter of abatement of rent for fallow land the initiative had passed from the landlord, but also that under certain circumstances rent was being realized for fallow land. The system of inspection in order to ascertain the amount of cultivated land seldom produces a record of fact and in some areas practically collapsed. As might be expected, it is in areas where the fertility of the soil is sufficient to admit of settled cultivation, or where the pressure on the soil is sufficiently keen to induce tenants to pay rent for land even when fallow, that we find the landlords exchanging initiative for passivity and the traditional characteristics of Utbandi being effaced. The custom of a raiyat taking the landlord's previous permission to cultivate at the beginning of each season has died out. But as the converse of that it is sometimes found that in a fertile tract landlords insist as a condition of abatement that the raiyat should intimate to him land cultivated in one season which he does not intend to cultivate the coming season in order that the landlord may have time to let the land to another raiyat. A raiyat failing to do this must pay rent for the land though it be fallow. Another variety of circumstances under which raiyats are found to be paying rent for fallow land is where raiyats, either on account of the intrinsic value of the soil or of comparative pressure upon it, prefer to pay rent for it when fallow to running the risk of its being given to another. Both the examples cited are cases where the Utbandi system is no longer justifiable and automatically tends to break down.

Such tenancies differed from the earlier views of Utbandi on which the existing law, so far as it had been expressed in rulings, was based and some might perhaps have been classed straight away as real Utbandi. On the other

hand, in order to avoid a contentious record it was felt safer not to rely on the payment of rent for fallow land, but to subordinate it, to the broader question of (1) the other incidents of the tenancy, and (2) the attitude of the landlord.

As regards (1) it is an essential incident of a real Utbandi tenancy that the raiyat has the right of surrendering any part of his holding which he no longer wants to keep and in such an event is relieved of paying rent for it. This is quite essential and is really a development of the traditional incident of the automatic abatement of rent for land which on inspection the landlord finds to be fallow. The principle is the same, but the landlord has receded from his more active role. Such a principle does not give authority to the landlord to collect rent for fallow Utbandi lands. It only means that the tenant, if he wants certain land to be reckoned as fallow for the purpose of assessment, must go the right way about it.

So, in differentiating between an Utbandi tenancy and one that had definitely passed out of that category officers were directed to look rather to this part surrender as an essential ingredient of real Utbandi than to the automatic relief of fallow land from assessment by field-to-field inspection. At the same time such a formula did not satisfy all the conditions of the case. It covered the traditionally fluctuating character of the Utbandi tenancy, but it did not satisfy the second condition, *viz.*, that the onus, so to speak, is on the landlord by some definite reaction on his part to ascertain the amount of land under cultivation.

The rules laid down as an essential feature of "the measurement or inspection made at least once a year with a view to the assessment of rent." The inspections never record the exact state of things. They are executed by a corrupt staff who often have to pay the landlord for the privilege of conducting them. The issue is a *chitta* prepared after haggling with the tenants and the passage of pecuniary gratification from one side to the other. In the illusory character of these *chittas* there are different degrees, varying with the stability of the cultivation. Where the land is comparatively fertile and scarcely needs fallowing, one year's *chitta* is prepared in the landlord's cutcherry from

last year's and a few changes may be made on the application of the tenants to the cutcherry. Normally, however, the Utbandi Amin goes to the village with a copy of the previous year's *chitta* and though he may not go to the field, he goes through a sort of informal attestation (*mokabila* as it is locally named) with the tenant and the help of the landlord's local servant (called *halsana*) who is supposed to know what land each tenant has cultivated. These annual or *tapashi chittas*, as they are called, are based on what is known as the *ekandaj chitta*. At indefinite intervals of from 5 to 30 years the landlord arranges for the detailed survey of the village plot by plot. This survey is prepared by actual measurement. The annual *chittas* are copies of the last *ekandaj chitta*, but in the margin of each is noted the crops grown in each plot, the possessor's name and the plots that are fallow (fallow for the purpose of assessment); *khatians* are then prepared showing the total area found in each tenant's possession, the plot numbers and the rent assessed.

The illusory character of these annual *chittas* varies almost indefinitely. The degree of genuine inspection in each case and the circumstances of their preparation are unascertainable with any degree of accuracy. Though we have travelled far from a scrupulous assessment of rent on the area found to be cultivated after an equally scrupulous inquiry it seemed right to recognize that in the changing and decadent character of the system a landlord may still claim to have made good his intention of retaining land as Utbandi if (1) he retains an *ekandaj chitta* made by actual field-to-field measurement; (2) he uses annual *chittas* up to date based upon the *ekandaj chitta*; and (3) the rent demand of the tenants is liable to come under an annual review according to the amount of land he retains purporting to have been somehow ascertained and embodied in the *chitta*.

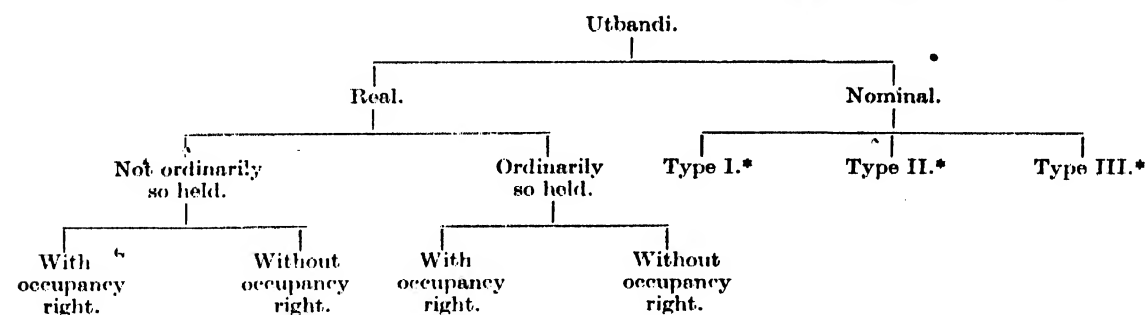
Such tenancies, therefore, provided they exhibited also the right of part surrender, which was the test of the first essential, namely, fluctuating nature of the holding, were considered also to have satisfied the second of "measurement and inspection once a year" and were classed as real Utbandi.

In his general instructions to attestation officers working in the last two blocks, the Settlement Officer cited three

main types of nominal Utbandi tenancies. A copy of this section of the general instructions is given in paragraph 129 and reference to them will show the different characteristics of the various kinds of nominal Utbandi met with. So much for the lines on which the tests were applied.

The next point is the result of the application. Section 180, Bengal Tenancy Act, applies to "a raiyat who in any part of the country, where the custom of Utbandi prevails, holds land ordinarily under that custom and for the time being let under that custom etc."

The procedure is, therefore, a preliminary classification of the tenancy as "nominal" or "real" Utbandi to see whether the 12-year rule has to be applied to the tenancy at all. If it turns out to be real Utbandi, each of the plots has to be considered and classified as "those ordinarily held under the custom" and those "not ordinarily so held" again in order to see if the 12-year rule has to be applied. Finally to those "ordinarily so held", the 12-year rule must be applied to determine if occupancy rights have accrued. The plot may fall into either of the branches illustrated below :—



* See paragraph 129.

81. Distinction between Utbandi as a legal tenure and Utbandi as a method of rent assessment.—The second important distinction is between Utbandi as a legal tenure and Utbandi as a method of rent assessment. As the Director of Land Records pointed out in forwarding the department's proposals for legislation, this distinction was of fundamental importance in determining remedies for the defects of the system. The tenants' disabilities, so far as they arose from the theoretical legal incidents of the system were less injurious in practice than they might appear in theory. For instance, the harshness of withholding occupancy rights, until land had been continuously cultivated for 12 years was

largely tempered by the fact that many tenants were in practice allowed to return again and again to the same plots after fallowing. In the matter of rent assessment however theory and practice coincided. The taxation of enterprise by applying higher rates to better crops, the harassment of periodical assessment and the uncertainty of liabilities were more universal and more injurious to the tenant than his legal insecurity of tenures. It followed from this, that any change in the law which granted legal security of tenures, but placed no restriction on liability to rent demands was an empty boon.

82. The main legal incident; the question of the right of re-entry.—The history of the discussions by which the legal incidents were determined is related elsewhere. Of these legal incidents security of tenure was the most important to the tenant and he fought for it by laying claim to the right of re-entry upon fallow land after the period of fallowing. In other words from the tenant's point of view there was no variation of holding. According to him his rights in his land under cultivation were secured by his payment of rent for them; his rights in the land, which was lying fallow and for which

he paid no rent, were dormant, but since it also, as he contended, remained part of his holding, he was entitled to cultivate it as soon as he was prepared to pay rent for it. This claim was not raised universally, indeed it would have been preposterous where tenants were continually cultivating new lands, but wherever cultivation became less shifting, wherever recultivation of the same plots by the same tenants became more and more a matter of fixed routine, the claim was more plausible. Finally where the same tenant invariably returned to the same land after its period of rest, there was in a sense no variation of holding and no logical reason why the tenant should be more strictly treated in the

matter of occupancy rights than the *halhasila* tenant, whose position appeared to be identical. The difficulty lay in the variety of conditions encountered. Two extreme and two intermediate examples will illustrate this.

(1) For the purpose of indigo cultivation we found the landlord in a few cases letting out tracts of land in strips running, say, east and west one year; the next year his land would be let out in strips running north and south. Whether this is done in the interests of cultivation or with some ulterior motive it is clear that the association of a tenant with any of his plots cannot extend beyond one year. There is no question of "no variation in the limits of holding" viewed over a series of years, because even the identity of the holding cannot be said to persist for more than one.

(2) At the other end of the scale we find cases where, though there is abatement of rent for fallow land and a system of measurement to ascertain it, tenants return after the period of fallowing to the same plots they cultivated before; they never pay *salami*, or obtain specific permission to do so, and no instance is ever known of a tenant surrendering one plot and of its being let out to another raiyat. The right of re-entry is definitely established. This is *halhasila* nominal Utbandi and occupancy rights accrue in the ordinary way.

(3) One intermediate type is very close to the last. It was extremely common in the west of the district which I describe as Tract III in paragraph 94. It occurs where the soil needs frequent rest and there is competition for tenants rather than land. The tenant again takes no specific permission to return to his old land after fallowing and pays no *salami* to do so. He has been known to transfer his plots by sale and the landlord to put them up and to buy them in auction. The holding made up of the fallow and the cultivated land is heritable and the land is never taken for a fixed period. Everything points to a holding of fixed limits at any rate if viewed over a series of years. But if the landlord can prove instances where tenants have surrendered individual plots or where plots have been taken from one tenant and let out without opposition to another, the limits of the holding are capable of variation, and

in law it is real Utbandi subject to section 180.

(4) The other intermediate type is one in which the limits of the holding are not effaced every year as in (1), nor are so nearly rigid as in (3), but in which part surrender and deliberate shifting of a tenant from one plot to another occurs more or less frequently according as increased competition for land or the policy of the landlord suggests. This, too, is of course real Utbandi. Except where shifting is general, the tenants claimed the right of re-entry in this type as well as in the last: as the whole classification is rather indeterminate, no statistics are available to show the extent of a genuine belief in the right of re-entry. In all the last three types abatement of rent for fallow land is the tenant's legal right, because it is real Utbandi. In practice he may not avail himself of this if he wants to keep a lien on the land.

The fact of the matter was that not only were the conditions sufficiently complex to make the application of any principles somewhat difficult, but the principles to be applied were themselves in dispute. The right of re-entry was a matter that in practice was not commonly disputed, simply because it was regulated by practice, but as soon as it became a question of crystallizing it in a record, all sorts of doubts regarding the historical and legal aspects of this indeterminate custom hardened into disputes. The landlords were dead against the admission as a legal right of what in many cases they never disputed as a customary concession.

The right of re-entry they opposed on historical and legal grounds. On historical grounds they contended that Utbandi lands were in origin *khas khasmar* land inviolate from the intrusion of any permanent rights by outsiders.

But Nadia has long ago been broken into definite fields bounded by *ails*. Cultivation does not take place by ploughing in a vast internally undifferentiated Utbandi *math*. Nor is it true of the system to-day that there is in each estate a definite area of unappropriated landlord's *khas* land which he has always let out in Utbandi. There is no distinction historically maintained between Utbandi and *jamai* land. On the one hand Utbandi land is contracting by the leasing out of land in *jamai* and on the other it is extending by the

absorption by landlords of *jamai* land and releasing of this in Utbandi, and there is no reason to suppose that this process is new or that it is not as old as the Utbandi custom itself.

On legal grounds the landlords relied on Beni Madhab Chakravarty *versus* Bhuban Mohan Biswas (Lal Joumed, Calcutta, 393) and other earlier cases, contending that the tenant's connection with the land ceased when it became *patit* and he could not count that period towards his 12 years' continuous possession. The correct view of the law was not absolutely clear, because even in Beni Madhab's case the language of the Judges showed that they were reluctant to define the incidents of Utbandi with any exactness and an earlier case of 1873 "*Premanunda Ghosh versus Surendra Nath Ray*" (W.R. XX, 329) was against the landlords. The balance of opinion, however, lay in their favour and though not convinced of its justice the Settlement Officer reluctantly agreed to enter on real Utbandi *khatians* the remark "the land when fallow reverts to the *khas* possession of the landlord". The reason was that we had to record existing facts and in some cases they were difficult to square with the original departmental view: from the nature of the system, the tenant had no means of translating into specific acts his claim to carry possession of the lands over the period they were left fallow, while some landlords seized the opportunity to strengthen their position by letting out the grazing rights on fallow lands.

At the same time we felt that such an entry in the record was opposed to the intentions of those who framed section 180. They could surely not have meant that occupancy rights would be for ever barred in Utbandi lands, which is what would happen unless land was continuously cultivated, an hypothesis which was inconsistent with the view of Utbandi cultivation prevalent at the time.

83. Description of the area dealt with by the Nadia settlement and the distribution of Utbandi over it.—It is not of course possible to show on a map the actual site of Utbandi cultivation, because so far from being confined to compact blocks of country it is interspersed in every village in which it occurs with *jamai* lands. An attempt has been made in the map which will be found at the end of the volume to

indicate its distribution by drawing to scale in each thana a circle which represents the exact area held in that thana under nominal and real Utbandi together.

The extent to which land requires fallowing is an important factor in the distribution of the system. Another map shows in graduated colours the percentage of fallow land to land capable of cultivation.

The district falls naturally into four tracts which differ in the distribution of Utbandi and the peculiarities it exhibits. Starting in the north-east corner—

Tract I.—Contains those thanas through which the main line of the Eastern Bengal Railway passes or which fall to the east of it:—

- (1) Khoksha.
- (2) Kumarkhali.
- (3) Kushtia.
- (4) Mirpur.
- (5) Alamdanga.
- (6) Chuadanga.
- (7) Jibannagar.
- (8) Krishnaganj.
- (9) Dumurhuda.
- (10) Hanshkhali.

This area, generally speaking, is the most fertile part of the district and as pressure on the soil is not much heavier than in the central area the condition of the people is distinctly better. In the western and southern thanas the soil, though light, is not so easily exhausted as on the western side of Nadia and can, in consequence, grow more of exhausting crops such as jute and sugarcane; periodic fallowing, therefore, is not common. Toward the east in the thanas of Kushtia, Khokhsa and Kumarkhali the soil becomes progressively heavier and richer until conditions approximate to those of Eastern Bengal.

In this block the total area under Utbandi of both kinds averages little over 5 per cent. of the total area and considerably more than half the area held under the system is under nominal Utbandi. Even in thanas Hanshkhali, Darmurhuda and Krishnaganj which merge into tract IV the area held under nominal Utbandi is considerable;

in the other thanas the proportion of nominal to real Utbandi is greater. In Kushtia Utbandi is negligible and in Kumarkhali and Khoskha it disappears altogether. In Utbandi lands (nominal and real) of this tract occupancy rights have been recorded in about 75 per cent. of this area.

Tract II.—On passing south down the railway an entirely different set of fiscal conditions are encountered in thanas south of Ranaghat, Chakdah and Haringhata. Here there is a considerable proportion of rich black soil, which yields valuable crops such as tobacco, chilli and *aman*, but malaria has depopulated many village sites with the result that the encroaching jungle brings more malaria and adds impetus to deterioration in a vicious circle. The country, though badly drained, gains something from the silt off the higher lands and this, combined with a lighter pressure on the soil, has made fallowing very rare.

There is no real Utbandi at all in this block and even those tenancies recorded as nominal Utbandi showed none of the counterfeit imitations of variation of holding and annual assessment which made distinction between nominal and real difficult elsewhere. It was simply an ordinary raiyati holding, but by local custom it was terminated at the will of the landlord.

Tract III.—Returning north up the branch line of the Eastern Bengal Railway one passes into block III containing thanas Kaliganj, Nakashipara, Nabadwip, Krishnagar and Santipur and part of Tehatta. Much of the land is fallow. It lies high except for occasional depressions which mark the course of former rivers. The high land is of sandy soil where *aus* and *rabi* crops are grown for three years and then the land lies fallow. In the depressions *aman* paddy, both transplanted and broadcast, is grown every year. This block is the home of Utbandi. It covers a percentage of the whole area of the thanas which varies from 26 per cent. in Santipur to 43 per cent. in Nakashipara. The relative prevalence of the system to other methods of tenure is even greater than these figures suggest, because in these thanas 25 per cent of the total area against an average in other parts of the district of 10 to 15 per cent. is retained in the Khash possession of

landlords and tenure-holders and not let out at all.

Real Utbandi, is of course, the more common type; while in Tract I it is not as prevalent as nominal Utbandi, here in thanas Krishnagar it is $2\frac{1}{4}$ times as numerous, Nakashipara $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, and Kaliganj $5\frac{1}{2}$ times.

Naturally, too, the accrual of occupancy rights is rarer than in the other blocks: contrasted with block I where 75 per cent., of the Utbandi area is subject to occupancy rights, here they nowhere extend to half and in real Utbandi lands they are recorded in only a quarter of the area.

The pressure on the soil is light and competition for land not particularly keen, except by the river side. For this reason tenants usually return without opposition to the lands they had left fallow. It was this which gave rise to the claim of the right of re-entry, which has been discussed elsewhere. It was only in this block that the right was ever successfully established. Where it was the tenancy is indistinguishable from the *halhashili* of Behar and Malda. This type III nominal Utbandi was relatively very rare and occurred in no more than about a dozen villages. It may be noted that in this block Utbandi gave no signs of extending.

Tract IV.—Contains the police-stations in the north and centre of the districts:—

Tehatta (east of the Jellanghi).	Meherpur.
Karimpur.	Chapra.
Daulatpur.	Parts of Krishnagar.
Gangni.	Damurhuda.

As may be supposed from its position between the extreme types of east and west, it is less homogeneous than the others, but apart from a heavier pressure on the soil it is very similar to Tract III. A good deal of land is comparatively fertile, for the good paddy-producing Kalanter area of Murshidabad laps over, though with diminishing fertility, into parts of Karimpur and Tehatta thanas, and is continued south in a line of bhils through thanas Gangni and Meherpur.

The two southern thanas of Meherpur and Chapra, except in the bhil depressions, suffer, though in a lesser degree

from the lightness of soil which is typical of the tracts west of the Jellanghi. There is a good deal of water-logged country in Gangni, not favourable to cultivation, but on the whole the general tendency to better conditions as one goes eastward is maintained in that side of Meherpur, Gangni and the whole of Daulatpur.

There is a consensus of opinion that despite the 13 per cent. decrease in population revealed by the census figures, the increased price of agricultural produce and the pressure of economic necessity are leading to an increase in the area brought under the plough. Even the majority of resident *bhadralok* have cultivation which they work either in *bhag* or by hired labour. While the tenants as in block III claimed the right of re-entry, particularly in the southern part of this block instances of shifting with the deliberate object of barring the accrual of occupancy rights became more noticeable. In this tract economic conditions making for stability have not been pronounced enough, as they have been in the south and east blocks, to prevent the growth of Utbandi, or to kill it when it grew. On the other hand, they are settled enough to be making for its decadence, and its continued existence is not economically justified to the same extent that it is in parts of the sterile area in block III. This unhealthy state of transition is reflected in the relations between landlord and tenant which may definitely be said to be worse in this block than any other. The position has been accentuated by the landlord's action in expropriating raiyats and converting them into Utbandi, a feature which was not traceable in the eastern block.

The percentage of area under Utbandi is high. From Tehatta 43 per cent. (this includes also the area west of the river) to Gangni and Daulatpur 17 per cent. and 18 per cent., and it is almost entirely real Utbandi. In Chapra there is no nominal Utbandi, in Meherpur only 1/36th of the total Utbandi area is nominal, and in the other thanas the proportion is not much larger.

The extent to which occupancy rights have been acquired in the Utbandi lands of both kinds is midway between tract III on the west and tract I on the east. In the former it did not amount anywhere to half the area, in the latter it was about three-quarters. Here it is just over half.

84. Review of the extent of Utbandi.—Taking Nadia district as a whole exclusive of areas surveyed by the Rajshahi party—(1) the total area surveyed by the Nadia Settlement Party was 1,646,244 acres; (2) of this (a) nominal Utbandi recorded in 4 per cent. of the total area surveyed was 73,914 acres, (b) real Utbandi recorded in 15 per cent. of the whole area surveyed was 252,173 acres, (c) total of (a) and (b), 19 per cent. of the whole area; equals 326,087 acres; (3) (a) in 45 per cent. of real Utbandi lands occupancy rights were recorded, i.e., in 114,922 acres, (b) in 88 per cent. of nominal Utbandi lands occupancy rights were recorded, i.e., in 65,660 acres, (c) in 55 per cent. of nominal and real Utbandi lands occupancy rights were recorded, i.e., in 180,582 acres; and (4) (a) non-Utbandi lands let out to raiyats amounted to 651,995 acres, (b) in 98 per cent. of this occupancy rights were recorded, i.e., in 640,716 acres.

In all cases lands "not ordinarily" held as Utbandi have been included in real Utbandi.

Items 1, 2 and 4 are worth noting for comparison with the estimates given in the reports after the enquiry of 1902. There it is said that land held under Utbandi exceeded that of land held under *jamai* settlement in the proportion 5 : 3. According to our statistics taking nominal and real together the proportion is 3 Utbandi, 6 *jamai*.

It is probable that the estimates of 1902 which were based on the examination of a limited number of returns and those from areas where the system was specially prevalent exaggerated the prevalence of Utbandi. But the difference is so marked as to furnish pretty reliable proof that the tenure was shrinking considerably between 1902 and the recent operations. There was also evidence that in the 20 years previous to the 1902 enquiries there had been large conversions in Gangni and Karimpur thanas of Utbandi into *jamai* lands.

At the time of the operations of the total raiyati area 33 per cent. was known at Utbandi; the percentage actually recorded as "real Utbandi" was 25 per cent. the extent to which this area has been further decreased by the effect of the recent Utbandi Amendment Act is given in paragraph 90.

85. Incidence of rent on lands held under the system.—Apart from the

general association of poor soil and the necessity of fallowing with the development of Utbandi, there is no distinction between the quality of lands held under that system and in *jamai*. They lie interspersed side by side in the same village and where Utbandi is common, a raiyat's lands may be held entirely under the one system or the other or he may hold under both. Security of tenure may induce him to lavish more care on his raiyati, but this does not mean that he ordinarily has full liberty to select good lands with a fixed rent on which to grow his more remunerative crops. Where competition for land is at all keen, cultivation of the more valuable crops inevitably flows over into the Utbandi lands with the result that the incidence of rent automatically increases by the application of a higher rate to a more valuable crop. This is bad enough where rates are long established and generally accepted, but it is a great deal worse when it is manipulated by a landlord bent on enhancement. A reclassification of the crops accompanied by the introduction of new classes rouses less opposition than a direct increase in rents, because it is less obvious, and there is no limit except the ingenuity of the landlord, to the extent to which this process can be pushed. When a rate is imposed on wild apples (*nona*) and wild reeds, when even cocoanut leaves which are used in making broom sticks and *bhati* plants which grow wild and whose ashes are used by the poor classes for washing clothes, do not escape the landlord's rake in collections, it is not surprising that the list of special rates is a long one. Some rates have no connection with the cultivation of the land; for instance, the tenant often has to pay an additional charge for every hut he raises in his homestead, another instance is a special rate on houses which contain a handloom. These are really abwabs and very thinly disguised. The following is a list of the commoner rates in vogue:—

1. *Nal* (*aus* and *aman*).
2. *Boara* (*aman* only).
3. *Boro*.
4. *Boro* seedlings.
5. *Jute*.
6. *Brinjal*.
7. *Marich* or chilly.
8. *Haridra*.
9. *Plantain*.

10. Different vegetables each with a rate.
11. *Khicha* (*rabi* crop).
12. *Asha* (ploughing but not sowing).
13. Betel grove.
14. Tobacco.
15. *Bastu*.
16. *Udbastu*,
17. *Dhakal*.
18. *Dihi* (high land).
19. Ditches.
20. Threshing floor.
21. Thatching grass.
22. *Patel*.
23. *Tenga*.
24. Bamboos.
25. Mangoes.
26. Jack fruits.
27. Mango shoots.
28. Jack fruit shoots.
29. Tamarind.
30. Toddy palm.
31. Date palm.
32. Cocoanut.
33. *Bel*.
34. *Kod Bel*.
35. Sugarcane.
36. *Gab*.
37. *Ata* (sort of wild apple).
38. Lemon.
39. Plum.
40. Brick house.

It is difficult to show the precise incidence of real Utbandi rent as compared with *jamai* lands, because in real Utbandi *khatians* the rates and not the total rent, had to be recorded. For nominal Utbandi, the statistics at the end of the report show the total rent recorded for the appropriate area in each thana, and from this the average incidence can be calculated. Both in "nominal" and "real" the figures are for legal rent and the rate had often to be cut down at attestation. For instance, in a plot in which occupancy right has accrued in, say, 1318, we find Rs. 2 being realised for jute. The jute rate was introduced in 1320. Therefore the rate of Rs. 2-8 must be disallowed for that plot. When it is remembered that many landlords recognized no distinction between real and nominal Utbandi or even the accrual of occupancy

rights under section 180 it will be realized that the rent demand was often in practice greater than the figures given here indicate. On the other hand, collusion with the landlord's staff may also make the effective demand much less by showing as fallow, land which was really cultivated. It is a common argument of those who defend the Utbandi system that high rates are compensated by the extremely low rates of *jamai* lands. *Jamai* rates for the whole district of Nadia (exclusive of the part done by the Rajshahi party) work out at Rs. 2-7-3 per acre. This figure is not high compared with the exceptional areas of, say, Tamlook and Ghatal thanas in Midnapore, but they are not low as compared with Contai of that district, where embankments have to be maintained or Faridpur or the adjoining district of Jessore, and the soil in Nadia is distinctly poorer. The figures are given below for comparison:—

Nadia.		Faridpur.	
	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
Settled and occupancy—whole area	.. 2 7 3	Settled Raiyats	2 9 2
		Occupancy	.. 2 10 6

Midnapore.

	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
Tamlook	.. 5 8 4	Magura	.. 2 5 2
Ghatal	.. 6 4 4	Narail	.. 2 5 7
Contai	.. 2 10 9	Jhenidah	.. 2 5 4
		Bangaon	.. 2 4 6
		Sadar	.. 2 10 8

Jessore.

Compared with these *jamai* rates, nominal Utbandi rates in the different area work out as follows:—

	Nominal Utbandi with occupancy rights.	Nominal Utbandi, non-occupancy.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Over the whole area	.. 3 7 7	3 15 9

It is not possible to give the precise incidence in real Utbandi because we have no total lump rent to correlate with the total area, but we kept a rent note for each village which shows the prevalent rates and, by striking an average over a very large number of villages, have arrived at a figure which, I believe, can be taken as approximately correct. This is shown below for the whole district and also tract by tract:—

Real Utbandi.

	Tract I.	Tract II.	Tract III.	Tract IV.	Over the whole district.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Aman	.. 3 13 9	3 9 2*	3 14 0	3 3 3	3 10 0
Aus	.. 5 7 1	3 9 2*	3 12 10	3 5 10	4 0 8
Bastu	.. 14 0 9	9 3 7*	15 12 5	16 0 5	13 12 3
Udbastu	.. 10 13 5	4 13 3*	9 6 8	8 12 0	8 4 10
Bhiti	.. 6 0 2	4 8 0*	4 10 8	5 1 4	5 1 0
Garden	.. 14 12 9	....	16 6 5	16 6 6	15 13 10
Cocoonut and date palm	.. 29 0 0	....	23 8 1	28 9 5	27 0 6
Chillis	.. 5 5 4	....	3 15 9	5 4 5	4 13 10
Sugarcane	.. 12 1 7	....	3 13 10	6 7 1	7 7 6
Bamboo	.. 17 11 7	....	13 2 5	15 6 6	17 3 10
Thatching grass	.. 6 0 9	....	4 1 10	4 15 3	5 0 8
Turmeric	.. 6 3 3	....	....	....	6 13 7
Ditch	.. 10 1 4	....	9 9 10	5 3 9	8 4 11
Jute	.. 6 11 0	....	5 5 3	6 1 6	6 0 5
Vegetables	.. 7 12 0	....	6 11 8	5 6 6	6 10 8
Tamarind	.. ....	....	41 4 2	26 3 8	33 11 11
Betel	.. ....	....	21 9 0	8 5 4	4 15 2
Shop	.. ....	....	....	....	39 11 3

*Nominal Utbandi rates are given as no real Utbandi occurs in block No. II.

The multiplicity of rates points the way to the realization of abwabs and the Settlement Officer reported of the central block in 1920: "With the honourable exception of the Maharaja Bahadur of Nadia, all the bigger landlords realised extensive abwabs, the tenant pays an average of 4 annas to 8 annas of his rent in abwabs. I have noticed that the prevalence of these illegal exactions coincides with the prevalence of Utbandi" and the inevitable inference, I am afraid, is that landlords take advantage of the legally insecure status of their Utbandi raiyats. In the south where there is no Utbandi, abwabs are not realised, or if at all, on a very trifling scale. Some of the exactions are ingenious, the realization for the right of weighing goods (*Koyal*) is found in the north-west, but the most cynical realization I have encountered is *kabula bhikasha*, a contribution levied by one good lady to meet the expenses of her charity.

86. The abuses, to which in working the system, is liable.—The common system adopted by the landlords in preparing their assessment and maintaining their accounts has been described. The landlord's staff are usually ill-paid and sometimes not paid at all, the lower grades especially subsist either upon recognized fees from the tenants, whose lands they measure, or unrecognised bribes paid to secure favourable assessment. If a tenant is prepared to pay, he can get his area under crop reduced. The excess may be returned as fallow or tacked on to the holding of the less fortunate tenant, who does not pay, for the Amin cannot tamper with the area of the mauza as a whole which is known. By this process the poorer or more honest tenant suffers with the landlord.

It is obvious that in these circumstances the tenant is in considerable uncertainty as to what his proper rent demand is, and has little chance of realizing whether his legal rights have been ignored or if he does realize it, of asserting them with success in the courts. This confusion is worse compounded by the system of crediting payments by the tenant. First, all abwabs, whether for the landlord or his staff, are deducted from the sum tendered. Then the Utbandi rent is taken and, if anything is left over, that sum is

credited against the raiyati rent. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that raiyati holdings are frequently sold up for arrears. For an unscrupulous landlord this provided an easy way of extending the area of Utbandi. The Settlement Officer reported on this in his annual report of 1920:—"Though the expropriation of raiyati land and its conversion to Utbandi is proved by the figures to have been less than my anticipations, it is in much greater evidence than in A block, the process goes on moreover in a way that cannot always be detected. *Jamai* lands found in excess on remeasurement are thrown into the Utbandi stock, so that we find entered as Utbandi in the landlords' papers, unspecified fractions of plots I had to stop objection officers from making small *batta* plots in the map in conformity with these entries because, of course, the whole thing is a fraud. One attestation officer had to reject the landlords' papers, because their acceptance involved the diminution of the raiyati holdings (*jamais*) to incredibly small dimensions, which a second officer reports that in two mauzas of thana Tehatta (Kurulgachi and Chilakhali) tenants intentionally allowed their holdings to be sold for arrears of rent and took resettlement in Utbandi, because in the absence of *jamabandis* the landlord has included most of the *jamai* land in his Utbandi *chittas* leaving the *jamai* areas too small for the rents they bore".

As an instance of the manner in which the standard of measurement is manipulated to secure enhancements the following from the report for the previous year may be quoted:—"They try to insinuate a smaller standard of measures. For this they prepare the way by distributing *hatchittas* showing the shorter measure. They then may sue for arrears of rent, mentioning on the plaint the measure they are seeking to introduce. They need not actually measure the fields with this new measure, but they change the dimensions of the plots in the annual *chittas*. We have traced this process because sometimes we cannot detect mistakes made in submitting the new dimensions for old, or plots where the Amin has forgotten to make the change. Then the raiyat finds his payments increasing. The raiyat seldom understands the complex calculations by which his rent is arrived at,

and as often as not the landlords succeed in securing a permanently enhanced rent roll by these devious methods. Let me quote a case in point. In a certain village the old rate for arable land was Re. 1-1. Direct enhancement raised it to Re. 1-9. Then the landlord discovered a better class of land which he assessed at Re. 1-14. Then a super class was discovered which was assessed at Rs. 2-2. Not satisfied with this, the landlord introduced as special rates Rs. 2-8 for jute and Rs. 3 for plantain groves. The result is that to-day there are many tenants whose arrears of rent have accumulated up to Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. Simultaneously with the discovery of new classes of land, there is a tendency for the preferential rates which were formerly in vogue to disappear. On the first year after fallowing it is usual to grow only *rabi* crops, and the assessment for that used to be half the full assessment for arable land. This has, in some estates, been already abolished and all cultivation is being assessed at the full rates. Again a raiyat cultivating portion of a plot is often now made to pay the full assessment of the plot. In fact, we see that in the hands of the unscrupulous among the landlords the privileges of the Utbandi raiyat are being taken away one by one, while the disabilities have remained."

It is difficult to indicate the abuses which do arise without creating a false impression of the system as a whole. It is not suggested that many of them are rampant in all estates. There are cases where the tenant have been enjoying their lands at customary village rates which have not been changed for generations and where they are perfectly satisfied with things as they are. The complexity of the system in working means that most landlords are unaware of what goes on and are powerless to stop it if they do. Where supervision of the landlords' servants is lax and it generally is, or where they are inadequately paid and they generally are, the temptation to resort to one or other of the abuses mentioned is too strong to be resisted.

To summarize the evil effects of the present system are:—(1) it puts a premium on dishonesty by encouraging the raiyat and the cutcherry staff to cheat the landlord and the poorer or more

scrupulous tenant; (2) it puts a discount on enterprise, by taxing the cultivation of more valuable crops and giving no security of tenure; (3) it often leaves the raiyat in a perpetual state of uncertainty of his true liability; so that even if he knows what his rights are, he would have difficulty in proving them; and (4) it has been stated above that before the settlement operation many landlords did not recognize the distinction between real and nominal Utbandi or the proper application of section 180. It is doubtful how far they will do so in the future. The indefinite legal character of Utbandi and the difficulty of the application of the 12 years' continuous rule has, therefore, taken away the general protection of the Bengal Tenancy Act from the nominal Utbandi tenant to whom section 180 was not intended to apply, while the real Utbandi tenant has failed to secure even the limited protection which section 180 should give.

87. Proposals for legislation and the Utbandi Act.—The defects of the Utbandi system were emphasized in the first annual reports and Mr. Pringle had at an early stage put forward certain proposals including the provision of statutory machinery for the conversion of Utbandi into *jamai* tenancies. Suggestions for legislation gradually took shape in the course of discussions between the Director of Land Records, the Settlement Officer and the Maharaja of Nadia, who at that time represented the non-official interests. It was extremely fortunate that the informal moulding of these proposals coincided with the appointment of a special committee to consider the revision of the Tenancy Act. It was equally fortunate that the latter decided that the Nadia problem was purely local and had better be tackled by a sub-committee without involving it in the delay which so controversial a measure as the general revision of the tenancy law involved. The result was that a sub-committee with a very experienced personnel, both official and non-official, investigated the whole problem. Their recommendations were reviewed in a Government resolution No. 1095 L.R., dated 3rd February 1923, which is printed in Appendix VII.

Apart from conversion there were three alternatives:—(1) to define Utbandi and its legal incidents in greater particular in the Act and thus

conserve certain definite privileges attaching to the tenancy in the Act, or (2) to eliminate any special privileges, and (3) to leave the act practically alone.

The most far-reaching of these proposals was No. 2 which aimed at placing the tenant so far as security of tenure was concerned on an equality with an ordinary raiyat. There was a good deal to be urged in support of this. It might be said that it cannot be believed the framers of the Act intended that in spite of the association of a tenant and his successors with a particular plot for generations the mere accident of fallowing should deprive him of occupancy rights, that in many cases the entry "lands, if fallow, revert to the landlords *khash*" rested on nothing but a legal fiction; and that it is by no means beyond doubt that the Judges would uphold this legal fiction. It might also be shown that the abatement of rent for fallow land was not such a great concession—since rates are high—that it would be inequitable to let the tenants acquire occupancy rights. It might also be said that the claim of the landlord to treat all land left fallow as *khash khamar* was not unchallenged on historical grounds.

There were therefore substantial reasons for so amending the law that 12 years' continuous possession would be taken to include the necessary period of fallowing.

On many grounds theoretically it was an essential reform, it would have undone an injustice which had lain heavy on the tenants for many years; but where the right of re-entry was not generally claimed, it would have meant putting the clock back and it was doubtful how far this was possible without doing some injustice to vested interests however inequitably they might have been acquired originally. There was also this practical objection, that as soon as it became law, the very tenants whom we wanted to protect would be hastily shifted by the more alert and less generous landlords in order to bar the accrual of occupancy rights. Lastly there was the question of practical politics, the question whether such a provision was likely to be supported by a majority in the Legislative Council.

The proposals to define more precisely the incidents of Utbandi but to leave the disabilities of the Utbandi tenant

unremedied, had its supporters. Leaving aside for the moment the question of equitable reform, both parties stood to gain by a clear authoritative definition. The tenants perhaps not less than the landlords, for several of the abuses of the system arose from the former's ignorance of their position. The definition in paragraph 3 of the Government resolution referred to was the subject of much careful consideration. It represented on the whole a fair statement of the legal incidents so far as they were known and so far as both landlord and tenant were likely to accept. It embodied more or less the theory which the Settlement had endeavoured to apply in practice during the operations. On the other hand the advantages of definition were much less marked, once a record of rights had been prepared, moreover the settlement view throughout had been that the existing law was inequitable. Conversion would offer a means of evading the inequity of the law, but some of us felt that it was simply shirking the problem to leave the inequities, and to comfort the raiyat with the advice that if he did not like them he could go to Court and apply for conversion. We were somewhat doubtful too how far the conversion proposals as drafted would be a success. It was difficult to dwell on the helplessness of the raiyats without being accused of having a prejudice against the zemindar. But the helplessness of the former was a vital factor to be considered in the working of the Conversion Act. The Nadia raiyat had neither the cohesion of caste or tribe common in Western Bengal, nor the individual independence of the Eastern Bengal tenantry. Indigo cultivation and the Utbandi system had accustomed him to submission to the landlords' control. It had also perfected the organization by which that control was exercised. It was at the tenants upon whom the system was being operated harshly, that the Conversion Bill must be aimed, and it was precisely in those cases that we thought it doubtful whether the tenant would apply for conversion or having once applied would be able to resist pressure put on him to withdraw.

The settlement was therefore reluctant to rely solely upon conversion and to leave the substantive law untouched. Failing the more radical reform suggested in the abolition of special privileges there appeared to be good grounds

for limiting the extension of the system by removing from it certain lands which were not subject to cultivation in the ordinary sense as suggested in the third proposal. We also suggested that a statutory prohibition might be inserted to check the manipulation of the standard of measurement.

88. Difficulties of legislation other than by conversion.—It will be noted that there were objections against all the lines of action, apart from conversion. In the first place there were undoubtedly some areas such as part of the north-west, where Utbandi was economically justified, where the plastic character of the holding adjusted itself to the needs of cultivation, where the raiyat was relieved of the burden of paying rent for land from which he got no return and the landlord was compensated by the higher rate common in such tenures. Comprehensive reform therefore would perhaps do damage in certain areas. The real difficulty however was that none of the proposals really satisfactorily solved the question of limitation of demands by the landlord, and as pointed out by the Director of Land Records' letter (printed in Appendix VIII) in forwarding the proposals, the security of tenure without limitation of demand was an empty boon.

89. Conversion proposals.—The conversion proposals then offered the easiest solution provided the terms could be made sufficiently fair and attractive to both parties. The proposals of the sub-committee provided a simple and cheap method by which either party could apply to a Revenue Officer for the transfer of their Utbandi tenancies into ordinary raiyats with a definitely fixed rent subject to enhancement only on the general principles of the Tenancy Act. The Draft Bill contained one provision which the settlement viewed with some apprehension. This was that a tenant should pay 3 years' rent as *salami* in respect of lands in which occupancy rights had not accrued. In the case of the real Utbandi tenant who pays rent for fallow lands and yet still has to prove 12 years' continuous possession before he can get occupancy rights, the equity of paying *salami* was very doubtful and still more so where the practice of re-entry on the same plots generation after generation has been a recognised usage, breach of which is contrary to local sentiment. The landlord has now, in the keener

competition for land and more settled cultivation, advantages which the framers of the Tenancy Act did not contemplate. Had similar conditions been in their minds it is doubtful if they would have made the accrual of occupancy rights so difficult. The landlords had enjoyed these advantages for years. To deny them the right to *salami in toto* would be an injustice to vested interests whatever their origin, but the settlement view was that a heavy *salami* was likely to wreck the chances of success of conversion and that it would be safer to eliminate it or reduce it. We were also in favour of providing for the power of Government on the analogy of section 112, Bengal Tenancy Act, to apply compulsory conversion where circumstances justified such a step. It would have been a useful weapon if voluntary conversion had been illegally opposed, or otherwise proved a failure but as the Director of Land Records pointed out, there were objections on principle to the States uninvited interference in economic problems. The result was that the draft Bill for facilitating voluntary conversion passed into law and now appears as section 180 A, 180 B and 180 C of the Bengal Tenancy Act.

90. The working of the Act.—The Act was finally passed towards the end of 1923; applications have been dealt with by the district settlement since then till September 1926, since when a Special Officer with local experience deals with them under the Collector. It was not much resorted to at first; by the latter part of 1924 less than 50 applications had been received. Since then however it has steadily gained in popularity.

Applications have been much more common from tenants than from landlords, the latter seldom came as applicants for the reason that it is more costly to be an applicant than a defendant. When a landlord comes as an applicant he has to spend a large amount on process fees, as notices have to be served on each individual tenant. The following figures will indicate the extent to which the act has gone in dealing with the problem up to September 1926. The operation since then is beyond the scope of this report but I understand that applications are still increasing. Up to September 1926, 9,562 tenancies were dealt with: Kaliganj, Chapra, Krishnagar and Nakashipara have provided the most cases and after them

the central thanas of the district. Conversion in respect of lands in which occupancy rights have accrued has been less common than in non-occupancy lands, but there has not been much difference in amount between them. There have been as expected only one or two applications in respect of land recorded as nominal Utbandi. It may be assumed therefore that the record of rights has already provided these tenants with adequate security. The total area found by the settlement held under real Utbandi was 252,173 acres exclusive of the Rajshahi party's strip. Of the former 28,971 acres have been the subject of conversion up to September 1926. This means that 11·5 per cent. of the total real Utbandi area has become raiyati lands. If this rate is maintained it will not be long before Utbandi has largely disappeared save where it is economically justified. That its abuses have not been exaggerated and that the landlords have not been unfairly treated in the Act, may be gathered from the fact that they have been awarded over a lakh of rupees in *salami*, yet tenants are still anxious for conversion.

It is not only by the actual area converted however that the real value of the Act can be judged. Indeed perhaps its widest effect is in cases where it is never actually brought into play. Its silent restraint upon the exploitation of tenants must be considerable and the latter now know—and equally important the bad landlords know too—that the Revenue Courts are always open to save raiyats from the system if it is being abused.

It would be too much to claim that this very old problem has been finally settled, but while the record of rights has supplied all parties for the first time with a clear statement of their rights and disabilities, the Act provides means which are being widely used for escaping from the system where it is antiquated or oppressive.

There are a few matters however which still require attention. One is that applications from the central part of the district are relatively few compared with those from the west. The former, though not the real home of Utbandi, was the area in which it appeared to be less economically justified. The west was the area where case-work was first started and this may account for the greater number of cases.

but the progress of the Act in the central thanas should be watched by the district authorities. As a corollary of this it is worth while keeping as accurate statistics as possible in order to follow up the effect of the Act on the whole mass of Utbandi. The settlement wrote for the latest figures from the collectorate, but we could obtain none. Before this work was handed over, the Settlement Officer kept a statistical account by means of a return. It was not a very good form, but any return which indicates approximately the area affected in each thana and the general financial effect of conversion will serve.

Chapter IV.—General description of the tenure system and relation of landlord and tenant—(continued).

91. **General description of fiscal condition in different parts of the district.**—In the chapter on Utbandi the distribution of that system was reviewed in a somewhat arbitrary division of the district into four tracts. A general description of the tenurial system and the relations of landlord and tenant may conveniently follow the same lines. The limits of tracts are given in detail in paragraph 83. Roughly they are as follows:—(i) Kushtia subdivision and the east of the Eastern Bengal Railway main line as far south as Hanskhali; (ii) the southern projection of the district, i.e., the south of police-stations Ranaghat and Chakdah and Haringhata; (iii) the western side and north-western corner of the district; and (iv) the central tract.

92. **Tract I—Kushtia subdivision and the east.**—It will be remembered that this tract is one of the most fertile parts of the district with a general tendency towards increasing fertility and intensity of cultivation as one moves east. In Kumarkhali and Khoksa police-stations the proprietors are mostly big zamindars, the bulk of whose property lies in other districts, e.g., the Maharaja of Kishimbazar, the Rajas of Naldanga and the Narail and Tagore Babus. This is the meeting place of four districts, Faridpur, Jessore, Pabna and Nadia and has been tossed from one to the other during the course of British rule. It appears to have been part of the Jessore district at

the time of the revenue survey and was transferred to Pabna in 1863 and re-transferred to Nadia in 1871. The revenue survey party followed different methods from those adopted in Nadia and the confusion between estate and mauza which is found in all the earlier revenue surveys of Bihar and Bengal had been cleared up by the time Nadia was taken up, but not by the time the Jessore or Pabna party did Kumarkhali. The mauza is often ridiculously small and detached fragments are mapped as the same mauza. We did many amalgamations here. The *thak* maps were not of much use and the disentanglement of estates was a matter of difficulty which is described in paragraph 120. An interesting feature is the existence of several Magh jaigirs. These were grants made by the Moghals to individuals for services rendered or expected against the Magh pirates. They were resumed in 1823 and finally permanently settled and now bear No. 3444 on the Nadia roll and Nos. 3706 and 3553 of the Faridpur roll.

A noticeable feature in this tract is the large percentage of holdings which under the presumption of section 50 were recorded as *mukarari*. One of the main issues constantly before officers during attestation and objection was the acceptance or rejection of landlord's papers as direct evidence under section 32(2) of the Indian Evidence Act.

In most cases however the identity of the tenancy in question could not be established, while the mere omission of a tenancy from the *jama-wasil baki* paper of a particular year was not held sufficient to prove that the tenancy was not in existence in that year. In some cases the *jama-wasil bakis* were found to have been fabricated and did not tally with the rent receipts granted by the landlords and bearing their seal. In a few cases, the Sahas of Amla, sought to prove that by *jamabandi* new settlements and enhancements had been made. The tenants however produced rent receipts and those as also the *jama-wasil bakis* themselves showed that the enhancement shown in the *jamabandi* was meaningless. The tenants had throughout been paying the same rent and the entries of a supposed lower rent in the *jamabandi* were fictitious.

Another characteristic of this area was the very large number of under-raiyats, particularly in thana Jibanagar

and towards the Jessore border, where there is a growing custom among raiyats of sub-letting their land under permanent leases to under-raiyats in return for *salami* in preference to transferring the holdings formally.

Generally speaking the relations of landlord and tenant are comparatively friendly; besides the big absentee landlords mentioned above there are many small resident and easy-going landlords who live among and on good terms with their tenants.

93. Tract II—The southern projection round Ranaghat.—Estates here are considerably interlaced. Just outside the limits of our operations, there is the notorious Nandanbati mauza (24-Parganas) which contained land of more than 400 estates, and of which the *thak* surveyors made special complaint; although nothing quite so bad came our way, still much difficulty was felt in identifying the land of petty resumed estates. Some, it is feared, have been lost. Forty were recovered and recorded in a single mauza at attestation. The landlords on account of unhealthiness of the area are usually absentees. Consequently relations with a strictly limited number of tenants is a convenience. At any rate they appeared to prefer for the security of rent to make settlements with influential cultivators.

This has resulted in the creation of large raiyati holdings and the existence of numerous under-raiyats. The legal divisions of the raiyats' status into raiyats' holding at fixed rates, occupancy and non-occupancy raiyatis are not known. The locally recognised classification is into (a) *bemyadi* raiyats, (b) *myali* raiyats, and (c) *utbandi* raiyats.

Both *bemyadi* and *myadi* raiyats hold under written instruments. The *bemyadi* raiyat is a permanent raiyat, often known locally as *mourashi* also. The spirit of the contract between landlord and tenant is obviously that the rent should be fixed also, but sometimes the omission of express insertion of that condition led the landlords to contest the fixity of rent. The *myadi* raiyat also held under a written lease, but the lease is temporary and even if the raiyat is allowed to hold over, local custom is unanimous that the lease can be terminated at the instance of the landlord by the issue of what is called a postal

notice" i.e., a post card containing orders to quit. It will take the raiyats some time to get used to the new orientation of viewing all *myadi* leases as invalid for settled raiyats. The general name for raiyati holdings not covered by leases, temporary and permanent, is "Utbandi", but they are without any of the peculiar characteristics of real Utbandi and, indeed, no serious attempt was made by the landlords to insist on their being recorded as such. Rent receipts were rarely granted for these so-called "Utbandi" tenancies, and a number of fines were realised under section 58, Bengal Tenancy Act. The landlord's papers were frequently in a state of chaos and in the case of raiyats holding under tenure-holders real difficulty was occasionally experienced in determining the amount of rent payable.

A peculiar type of tenancy was found in the area between Ranaghat and Krishnagar. Raiyats obtained leases of land on condition of rearing up fruit gardens thereon. In return for tending the young trees they are allowed to grow crops free of rent in much the same way as on the *taungye* system in reserved forests. These leases are usually accompanied by a written agreement that the garden is to be ready in a certain number of years, in default of which the raiyat is to be liable to a money penalty. Although these gardens are grown for the landlords' profit and accordingly the explanation to proviso (3) of section 178, Bengal Tenancy Act, does not apply, it was held that during the pendency of the lease where it was in writing occupancy status could not be given to the raiyats.

The number of raiyats who got the benefit of the presumption under section 50 and received the entry of *mukarari* was considerable, the percentage being about the mean of the district as a whole.

Under-raiyats were extremely common and their number must have considerably exceeded the number of raiyats. The triplicate division of raiyats into *bemyadi*, *myadi* and Utbandi is exactly reproduced among the under-raiyats. Section 85, Bengal Tenancy Act, which limits the permanence of leases granted to a tenant by a raiyat was unknown and unregarded. The correct recording of the facts was therefore rather a problem, which is referred to in paragraph 130. Another feature of the area was the extraordinary number of rent-free grants.

94. Tract III—The north-west corner and west side of district.—The distribution of estates was fairly simple, nor was there much in the way of small co-ordinate tenures held jointly over the raiyats. Various grades of *patni* were common. These were largely recurring interests going down in direct subinfeudation several grades until they were united in the hands of one man. (This is a peculiarity reminiscent of indigo times.) The landlords particularly in the north are resident and exercise a predominance over their tenantry which to the officers coming from other districts seemed terrible. This is reflected in the prevalence of the Utbandi system, the insignificance of the area in which raiyats have obtained *mukarari* rights (between only 4 and 13 per cent. of the total area) and the amount of land retained in the *khas* possession of landlords and tenure-holders. The latter totalled roughly one-fourth of the area: much of it is sterile land unfit for settlement, a certain proportion is the natural accumulation resulting from the movements of alternate cultivation and fallowing. But many landlords themselves maintain ploughs and till by hired labour their own lands. The fact that Utbandi is common and is associated with the worse lands throws an additional value on such raiyati holdings with occupancy rights as exist and the average rate of rent for these interests, in spite of the general low level of fertility is high. In these cases illegal enhancements were rare.

A curious relic of indigo days was found in the large interests which landlords claimed to hold as raiyatis. These sometimes covered more than 1,000 bighas. It transpired that the landlords had cultivated indigo but today the land was nearly all in the *khas* possession of cultivators. The landlords had been accustomed to emphasize the voidable nature of the cultivator's interests by making them pay fresh *salami* at the expiry of every 5 years. Eventually it was decided that in cases where no continuity could be traced between the leases enjoyed by the indigo planters and the present interests of the landlords, their tenants were raiyats and not under-raiyats.

95. Tract IV—The central wedge, Meherpur and Sadar subdivisions, east.—This area is very similar to the last, but indigo cultivation was rather more common in the past and the soil

particularly on the east and north more fertile. The result is that conditions are less stable and with an increasing pressure on the soil the interest of landlord and tenant come more sharply into conflict. Much of Tehatta, Meherpur, Karimpur and Gangni thanas belong to the Raypur pargannas, which at one time formed part of the zemindari of Natore. It is divided into 8 *dihis* which represent the old collection circles of the Natore Raj and each of these to-day covers several estates, some of which have land *ejmali*. Subinfeudation has gone far: a characteristic being subinfeudation according to *chhams* or tracts. Each *chham* is held directly by groups of landlords holding over the tenants in diverse interests, and some of the same landlords usually appear in different shares and different combinations with other landlords in other *chhams* in the same mauza. Often the actual individuals hold their right in a *chham* as the culmination of a very complex system of subinfeudation and these *chhams* are not always confined within single estates, but generally comprise lands of several estates. Moreover the subinfeudation is usually not according to estates, but each mauza has a variety of its own.

In this area as usual in Nadia, the real landlords are the permanent tenure-holders. Most of the Raypur pargannas' *dihis* are held in various grades of patni by the Midnapore Zemindari Company and different Maheshya families. In Meherpur the former are the biggest landlords in virtue of their tenure of the 16 annas of *dihis* Meherpur and the Katuli concern both of which properties were taken over from Mr. Barker. In Tehatta are the Pal Chaudhuries of Sonadanga and Babu Nafar Chandra Pal Chaudhuri in his Betai property which he acquired in 1882 after the retirement of Mr. Sibbold, the manager of the well-known indigo planter, Mr. James Hill. Most of thanas Damurhuda, Chuadanga and Chapra fall in pargannas Bagowan and the largest landlords are again the Midnapore Zemindari Company, lately the Nischindapur concern and different branches of the Pal Chaudhuri families. There are besides in the area a number of landlords of lesser importance, e.g., the Biswas families of Kola, of Darapur and Bhawanipur.

Further east Baulatpur, Mirpur and Alamdanga were noteworthy for the

prevalence of the money-lending landlord. The subinfeudation is less complex than in Rajpur, but the record was complicated by the extensive purchases of raiyati land by co-sharer landlords. Whole tracts of land had been purchased in this way and in the piecemeal releasing of the lands to third parties the identity of the original holding was lost. Frequently shares of holdings were purchased by the co-sharer landlords in execution of money decrees, and let out again sometimes to the old raiyat and sometimes to new parties.

Throughout the area the effects of indigo cultivation in the shape of a large oppressive staff of servants, usurpation of the cultivator's security of tenure and a tendency towards the introduction of rents on economic as opposed to statutory lines is noticeable. This aspect is referred to in the general note on the effects of indigo cultivation.

As might be expected the percentage of *mukarari* raiyat's is small, falling as low as 7.5 per cent. in thana Karimpur and 8 per cent. in Meherpur as against a district average of about 20 per cent.

The landlords employ many weapons to assert their predominance over the tenants. The preparation of the record brought to light numerous devices by which strong and crafty landlords defeat the law.

In mouza Ratanpur (Chapra) rents were illegally enhanced under proviso II of section 29. The Attestation Officer held a local enquiry and found that the so-called improvement (the excavation of a khal) in fact no longer produced its "estimated effect" and the enhancements were disallowed. The same "khal" trick was played by Babu Nafar Chandra Pal Chaudhuri in villages Natna, Jitpur and Betai (Tehatta). In the first he had protected himself to some extent by having got registered *kabulyats* from tenants admitting the benefits of his "improvement." In Betai, however, the khal was excavated as a relief measure by the District Board in 1905-06 and the landlord on the ground that he had completed the work at his own expense immediately enhanced the rents. This allegation, however, he could not prove and the rents were cut down. In Jagannathpur Damurhuda the same landlord enhanced rates in 1300. The tenants resisted. Finally a compromise was reached whereby the tenants agreed to pay a sum of Rs. 8,000 on condition

that it was not treated as rent; on the sum being paid in full, old rates were to be restored. These terms were embodied in a letter produced before the Attestation Officer purporting to be in Nafar Babu's own hand and which, the Attestation Officer found to be genuine. But the stipulations were set at naught, the money was realized and a permanent addition was made to every raiyat's rent much in excess of annas 2 in the rupee so that even after 1308 when the whole Rs. 8,000 had been paid in full, up to the present day these illegal rents have been realized. In mauza Bhatgachi (Chapra) Nafar Babu wanted to enhance rents in 1276. The rents existing then were not on an area basis. Nafar Babu nevertheless had the lands measured and a *jamabandi* prepared, which the tenants would not accept. But 30 years later he exacted an acceptance, which resulted in gross enhancements. These were cut down and then came the landlord's fiat that no papers were to be produced before the Attestation Officer. In Natna (Tehatta) *kabulyats* were taken from tenants agreeing to pay enhanced rents under proviso III, section 29. It was found in a number of cases that tenants were homestead tenants only who neither possessed nor ever had possessed cultivation. In Betai (Tehatta) tenants were induced to agree to an enhancement of Re 1 to 1-4 per bigha for Utbandi *mal* land. Later the landlord converted the Utbandi tenancies to *jamai* at an enhanced rate of Rs. 2 and now the holdings have been broken up and Utbandi restored, but the rate of Rs. 2 remains.

The custom in the Katuli concern and the Nischindapur concern which are now held by the Midnapore Zemindary Company as well as in those parts of the Patkabari concern which fall in mauza Tehatta (not a recent acquisition of the Company) is to revise rents on all lands by frequent remeasuring. Under cloak of these remeasurements, the measuring rod is sometimes reduced, and reclassifications are introduced. The result is that rents are found to have been increased, on a fictional increase in area and a reclassification which is illegal under section 23 of the Act. Bad cases were found in the Patkabari concern, where three remeasurements had been carried through within 15 years. Except for the cutting of a *batta* which was still being realized along with the rent, we could not interfere much with

the rents as limits of holdings had been materially changed by subtraction and addition of land. In mauza Chandipur (thana Meherpur) the Smiths of Katuli had grossly enhanced rents without a show of legality and though a similar state of things was suspected in two other mauzas of the concern (Kulberia and Amjhupi) the Company did not produce papers on the plea that they were not available. In mauzas Tengri, Gopipur (Damurhuda) and Kathalpora (Meherpur) illegality of rents was discovered only at the objection stage when the Company produced papers to rebut the *mukarari* presumption. The only case we came across in which the Company's predecessors employed the proviso III so much resorted to by Nafar Pal Chaudhuri was in mauza Dasami (Damurhuda). The bottom was knocked out of the plea that tenants had been holding lands at concession rates for growing indigo by the discovery that the old rents had been realised by former co-sharers of the concern who had never touched indigo.

Although expropriation of raiyati land and its conversion to Utbandi is not so common a feature as had been anticipated, it does occur more frequently in this area than elsewhere. The process goes on moreover in a way that cannot always be detected. *Jamai* lands found in excess on remeasurement are thrown into the Utbandi stocks, so that we found entered as Utbandi in the landlords' papers unspecified fractions of plots. The Settlement Officer had to stop objection officers from making small *batta* plots in the map in conformity with these entries because, of course, the whole thing was a fraud. One Attestation Officer had to reject the landlords' papers because their acceptance involved the diminution of the raiyati holdings to incredibly small dimensions, while a second officer reported that in two mauzas in thana Tehatta tenants intentionally allowed their holdings to be sold for arrears of rent and took resettlement in Utbandi, because in the absence of *jamabandis* the landlord had included most of the *jamai* land in his Utbandi *chittas* leaving the *jamai* areas too small for the rents they bore.

On the other hand the reverse process of conversion of Utbandi into *Jamai* lands has also been at work and towards the east particularly there has been a tendency towards the decrease of the area under the system.

On account of the increasing demand for land brought on by economic necessity, conversion of Utbandi into *jamai* has sometimes taken place without any regard to the rates for similar lands or the economic condition of the tenants. In Baniakandi in Karimpur police-station a rate as high as that of Re. 1-4 for a standard bigha was adopted, with the result that much of the land has either been surrendered or sold for arrears of rent and Utbandi has again been resorted to. Similarly in Arabpur and the neighbouring villages owned by the Bagchis of Jomserpur, land converted from Utbandi into *jamai* are again reverting to Utbandi, simply because the land is not sufficiently good for the rates of rent adopted. In Ramnagar, Kalyanpur and Chak Kalyanpur (police-station Gangni) lands converted into *jamai* only a decade ago are reverting to Utbandi and they also include *mourashi* tenancies. In several villages near Katuli, headquarters of the Katuli concern of the Midnapore Zemindari Company, conversion of Utbandi lands into *jamai* and *vice versa* have been very common. The rates for both Utbandi and *jamai* being equal, tenants found it easier to live under the more elastic system of Utbandi, which enabled them to come off with a smaller liability by bribing the landlord's agents. The above resumé indicates that Utbandi is a dying institution and this was evidenced by the desire exhibited by most of the landlords at attestation for converting it into *jamai*. The smaller landlords in particular who cannot indefinitely add to the rates had their eyes opened at seeing how much went into the pockets of their village agents. They have become convinced that a more stable income from their property with a contented tenancy to pay it, is preferable to the present state of things, which causes endless confusion and difficulties.

96. **Under-raiyats.**—The statistical distribution of under-raiyats is referred to in paragraph 107 and the method of recording their rights in paragraph 131. We found that under-raiyats had by custom occupancy status in their homesteads. This was accepted by everyone. In fact so strong is the idea that once a structure has been erected the under-raiyat is safe, that under-raiyats are regarded as possessing occupancy rights even in shops. In doing so we followed the analogy of section 160-(c). No objection was made.

In the south of the district many under-raiyats enjoy permanent rights, their rights being generally regarded as governed not by the Tenancy Act but by the peculiar local custom referred to in paragraph 93.

97. **Rent-free grants.**—Rent-free grants were most common in the west of the district where the liberality of Maharaj Krishna Chandra Roy is responsible for an enormous number of these grants. The multiplicity of the tenures alleged to have been created under a rent-free title of this kind has been a source of constant irritation to auction purchasers of estates which used to form part of the Nadia zemindari. Mr. Bipradas Pal Chaudhuri brought a suit for a declaration that some lands in Santipur alleged to be so held falling within estate No. 474 of the Nadia collectorate were assessable to rent and the case was brought up to the Privy Council and has now become classic. In respect of many of these rent-free tenures, the Maharajas of Nadia are still in receipt of landlords' fees long after the estates of which they form part have passed out of their hands. This fact gave rise to the claim made at attestation by the Maharaja that he should be recorded as proprietor of all rent-free tenures granted by Maharaja Krishna Chandra. The case was decided by the charge officer who found that (1) rent-free lands were included in the permanent settlement, but as they were without assets they were not specially shewn; (2) even supposing them not to be included at the time, yet Regulation XIX of 1793 lays down that all rent-free grants (non-*badshahi*) under 100 bighas were to be considered as part of the estate within whose orbit they fall; and (3) payments of landlord's fees does not affect the right of the real landlord, as it is paid without his knowledge and perhaps through ignorance. The charge officer pointed out that the Maharaja's claim pressed to its logical conclusions would vest the whole *lakheraj* area of Bengal and Bihar in the descendants of the 12 Bhuias who flourished under the Moghals.

On the east (and south) rent-free tenures are less common, but in parganna Rajpur (Kampur) there are old grants by Rani Bhawani to Brahmins and idols. There are also similar cases of rent-free tenures which owe their origin to the Rajas of Naldanga and the Mohananda Chaudhuries of Shantha.

Resumption by the planters was frequent particularly in the Katuli concern in Karimpur.

98. **Service Tenures.**—Grants of land for public services, resumed or otherwise, such as the chaukidari chakran lands of Western Bengal are rare. But services of private individuals are frequently remunerated in this way. Except in the Midnapore Zemindari Company the landlords *halsana* and *paik* usually hold some service lands. The Mallicks of Meherpur in Chuadanga thana and the Naldanga Raj in Kumarkhali and Khoksa have made a large number of service grants. Besides the duties of *halsana* and *paik* all sorts of miscellaneous services are repaid by small grants of land, *e.g.*, carrying a *palki*, cleaning the cutcherries, killing animals or supplying flowers for pujas, and providing the landlord with vegetables or provisions when he happens to visit the locality.

99. **Produce rents.**—Produce rents do not constitute an important problem in Nadia. Except in the south it was only very rarely that the *bhagdars* appeared to be tenants at all. It was usually the custom of the landlord to supply half the seeds, as however the question was not entirely free from doubt the *bhagdars'* names were entered in column 23 of the superior *khaitan*. In the area covered by the Nadia party only about 5 square miles were recorded as held by raiyats on a share or fixed amount of the produce, about the same as in Tippera. In a few cases other sorts of "kind" than produce of the soil were paid as rent, *e.g.*, hens, goats and even earthenware pots. The system of *bhag-jote* cultivation has already been referred to in paragraph 72. The landlords often contended that the cultivators in these cases were ordinary labourers, but it appeared that the tenants had to pay rent whether the crop failed or not, and in many cases cash was invariably paid in lieu of produce. In such cases the name *bhag-jote* was retained in the record but the cash rent was recorded. Another system which was gaining popularity with landlords, particularly on the east of the district is known as the *shiki bhag*. It is not welcomed by the tenants. The *bhagdar* pays a fixed cash rent *plus* a share (usually one-fourth) of the produce; like the *bhag-jote* tenants, these cultivators were given separate *khaitans*.

In Tehatta, Damurhuda and Chuadanga thanas and elsewhere there were instances of expropriation of the tenants by landlords reletting in *bhag*. But at present the system of *bhag* cultivation is nothing like so common as it is further west in the province.

100. **Extent to which the real cultivator is not the legal raiyat.**—There are no statistics available to offer even an approximate idea of the extent to which legal raiyatis have been appropriated by the non-cultivating classes. In the main "Utbandi" areas the landlords have less direct interest in purchasing raiyatis as the enhancement of rent is easily accomplished. On the extreme west though several landlords were active money-lenders, the purchase by them of raiyati interests was not particularly marked. In the part of the district between the Mathabhanga and Kumar however this practice was common. The maintenance of ploughs and labourers by resident landlords was a fairly usual feature of the central tract, and the cultivation of large so-called "raiya" in temporary-settled or private estates has already been mentioned.

101. **Abwabs.**—In "Utbandi" areas the cultivators have a larger staff to conciliate and more to fear if they fail to do so. It is only natural that under these conditions "abwabs" should be heavy and general. But they are common throughout the area, even where the Utbandi system does not prevail, though apparently less so in the south. One Circle Officer prepared a list of over 20 such exactions. He remarks "The very list arouses indignation"; and in an account of conditions 70 years ago the following harrowing description is quoted. "Not a child can be born, not a head religiously shaved, not a son married, not a daughter given in marriage, not even one of the tyrannical fraternity dies without an immediate visitation of calamity upon the raiyat. Whether the occasion be joyful or whether it be sad, in its effect to the cultivator, it is alike mournful and calamitous". The vividness of this picture perhaps depends too much on a rather reckless use of the darker colours, and an instance of the tenants not unwilling acquiescence in long standing abuses may be quoted on the other side. In the north of the district the Midnapore Zemindari Company abolished

"abwabs" but insisted on the full realisation of interest on arrears of rent: When a neighbouring landlord proposed to follow this example, the tenants objected. It seems that age and custom endue these payments with a kind of validity which renders their abolition almost impossible. It can only be hoped that with the reduction of the landlords' staff and the increase of education, they will be reduced to contributions which are more or less voluntary. In some cases they are so now, but as they are heaviest in estates run on inefficient or avaricious lines, they do constitute a very serious drain on the resources of tenants who are least able to bear them or resist them. It is of course impossible to give an average rate, but it is stated that in certain instances they amount to 8 annas in the rupee of rent and that 4 annas and over is very common. The following instances will indicate some of the different forms of the exactions:—

- (1) *Hishabana* varying from 1 anna to 4 annas.
- (2) *Parbani* varying from 1 anna to 4 annas.
- (3) *Punya Kharach*, 6 pies.
- (4) *Pasta*, generally 1 anna.
- (5) *Bhet* or *Marucha* on the occasion of the marriage of a tenant's son or daughter.
- (6) *Mahat*, on the occasion of an important event in the landlord's family.
- (7) *Bhiksha* when the landlord performs the *Shradha* ceremony or any act of charity.
- (8) The payment of a quantity of ghee or failing payment an equivalent in cash.
- (9) Fee on weaving looms and carts.
- (10) Salutation fee of from Re. 1 to Rs. 5 per head when any of the landlord's staff visits a village.
- (11) *Piandar Roz* or a "court fee" of 8 annas whenever a peon has to call a man to pay his rent.
- (12) Lump contribution for the purchase of elephants, carriages or even ponies for the landlord or for the building or repairs of offices.

The landlord sometimes for a consideration confers on one man the exclusive right of weighing goods in any

transaction in the village. The grantee recoups himself by levying two seers in every maund weighed.

Another form of *bhiksha* abwab is still levied by the Midnapore Zemindari Company in the Shikarpur and Katuli concerns, though they have abolished other abwabs. This is a dispensary cess of 3 pies and a school cess of 6 pies in the rupee for the maintenance of the school and dispensary at Shikarpur: A particularly offensive, but by no means unknown, device is to levy contribution for an improvement such as a khal, spend less than the whole amount and then appropriate the surplus.

102. Transfer of occupancy rights.—

There is no custom of unrestricted transfer of occupancy holdings. On the other hand there are no fixed principles regulating the amount of *salami* payable by the transferee for recognition. Often a purchaser will remain in undisturbed possession for years without having bothered or been compelled to register his name. The ordinary practice is to purchase the consent of the landlords by making as small payments and as amicably as possible; many of the larger landlords realise 25 per cent. of the purchase money, but this is generally speaking an innovation which is resented by the tenants. Other landlords such as the Sahas of Amla endeavour to realise more. In any case the landlord's fee has frequently to be accompanied by a tip to the agent who effects the new registration. The transfer of shares of holdings raised considerable difficulties in preparing the record. This practice was prevalent in Daulatpur, Mirpur and Alamdanga thanas. Utbandi tenants often pay the previous occupant something to get possession of the particular plot and nothing to the landlords: the latter, however, sometimes take a small registration fee.

103. Standards of measurement.—

The standard of measurement was a point of much importance in Nadia, not only in Utbandi but in ordinary raiyatis as it often directly affected the question of legality of rent and the scope of future enhancement. The nature of the dispute and the methods of dealing with them are discussed in full in paragraph 122. So far as the settlement of existing disputes was concerned the historical aspects of the

question were of little practical value. We had merely to determine the measurement which was actually in force or that which had been in force when the last settlement was made. From very shortly after the permanent settlement it was known that two different standards were commonly in use and much confusion was caused by local Judges or Collectors arbitrarily fixing standards which were not endorsed by the Board of Revenue. Practically all measurements were made on one of two different systems, namely, with a bigha of 55 *roshis* squared, each *roshi* equalling 29 inches or with a bigha of 80 *roshis* squared, each *roshi* equalling 18 inches. Occasionally, however, intermediate standards are met with where the *roshi* is 20 or 22 inches. It appears that the 18-inch system was used for the rent-free resumption in the thirties and forties of the last century. It is generally regarded as the standard measurement now and as it gives a larger numerical "Bigharage" (if the word may be permitted) it favours the landlord who wishes to enhance rents. Measuring was often done by a rope and in some cases a certain amount of grace is allowed to the tenant by measuring from the edge of the ail and by extending the arm which holds the rope. Very many landlords now however use an ordinary cadastral chain for measurements. The details of the two standard are given below :—

- (1) 29 inches = 1 *roshi*.
 55×55 *roshis* = 1 bigha.
 1 bigha = 404 acres.
 1 acre = 2 bighas $7\frac{1}{2}$ kattas.
- (2) 18 inches = 1 *roshi*.
 80×80 *roshis* = 1 bigha.
 1 bigha = 331 acres.
 1 acre = 2 bighas $9\frac{1}{4}$ kattas.

104. Zemindars' accounts.—The system of accounts in Utbandi lands has been described in paragraph 80. For ordinary raiyati holdings the system is the same probably as that in other parts of Bengal. Daily payments are entered in a daily account register (*Sheha*) and in a ledger (*Kharchahishab*) which contains a separate page for each tenant, the date of each realization and the receipt number. These accounts are gathered up at the end of the year

into the *jama-wasil baki*, an elaborate abstract or balance sheet, said to have been invented by Raja Udmanto Singh of Nashipur. It is this abstract which is submitted to the landlord. Rent receipts are not always granted and one or two landlords were fined for the neglect. Even when they are given they frequently contain omissions and often mistakes.

Chapter V.—Statistics of rents, tenancies and revenue.

105. Revenue of the district.—At the time the rent statistics were being collected, the revenue of the district amounted to Rs. 9,23,697, of which Rs. 8,01,078 was from permanently-settled estates, Rs. 80,270 from temporary-settled estates and Rs. 42,349 from estates held directly by Government. Since then there has been an increase of rather over Rs. 70,000 on account of resumptions and resettlements. The figures of 1921-22 are, however, taken as the basis of comparison with rents, as the increase is relatively small and there have probably been corresponding enhancements in rents. The revenue of course is partly derived from estates which have lands in other district; on the other hand some lands in Nadia pay revenue into other district treasuries. Assuming these cancel out, the incidence of revenue works out at 8 annas 5 pies per acre or 10 annas per head of the population and appears to be rather higher than most other districts, particularly if the large area uncultivated each year is taken into consideration.

106. Relation of revenue to rental and gross produce.—According to the gazetteers the gross rental of the district has been calculated at Rs. 33½ lakhs and the Government revenue at 26·7 per cent. of this. With a large area under Utbandi for which no fixed rental is available any estimate must be rather a shot in the dark. I think, however, there can be no doubt that the figure given in the gazetteer is very much under-estimated. Including the letting value of lands in the *khush* possession of proprietors and tenure-holders, I would put the gross rental from raiyatis at Rs. 42½ lakhs. If the

profits which raiyats make by sub-letting to under-raiyats is included another Rs. 2½ lakhs should be added, making a gross rental from the cultivation of the soil of Rs. 45 lakhs odd. Of this the revenue paid to Government would be 20 per cent, or, if profits from under-raiyats are left out of account, 22 per cent.

Another interesting speculation is the value of the gross annual agricultural product of the district. To arrive at this is rather like entering for a puzzle competition, of which neither the rules nor the result is ever published. There are several methods of calculation; one is to take the crop statistics and multiply them where they exist by average outturns and prices and make a guess where they do not, for instance for the sale of bamboos, the other is to work from the abstraction of the "Economic Cultivator", build up his budget and make the necessary multiplication. Until prices are more stable and the outturn of crops has been measured by properly conducted experiments throughout the district, both methods can only result in figures which are more or less idle speculations. The only really known factor is the area cultivated and this has to be multiplied 20 or 30 times by other factors of price and outturn regarding which there are the widest differing opinions. Really careful crop cutting experiments by experts are badly needed, as once reliable results are obtained, a good deal of valuable statistical information could be used and interesting economic conclusions formed. It is quite impossible for the settlement or collectorate staff to conduct these enquiries in the midst of their other duties and the result as they stand are only invitations to the formation of dangerous fallacies.

Anyone with a mathematical turn of mind can now enter the competition. He will find the available material in the crop statistics at the end of this volume, the price lists in the gazette and the outturn in the Agricultural Departments' crop reports. I have little doubt that the result will differ widely from my own contribution which is Rs. 7 crores for the whole district. For this reason I do not disclose how I arrived at it, but it includes the return from both ordinary crops, gardens and profitable jungles. It works out at just under

Rs. 50 per annum per head of the population, which is decidedly low compared with other districts. This is partly explained by the low outturn for crops which has been taken and by the fact that an unusually large proportion of the population are dependant on other sources than agriculture. But it does seem to indicate as compared with other districts a markedly low economic standard.

The State's share of this total product taken in the form of land revenue is less than 1½ per cent.

107. Division of the land according to legal interests.—For detailed figures reference must be made to the table at the end of the volume. The statistical statement in Nadia owing to the numerous different kinds of Utbandi is a most formidable document. In the original one had to wade through 99 columns before reaching that devoted to "remarks", which is incidentally left blank—perhaps no one ever reached it. To spare any reader the same long and tedious journey the following table is given below which will give a fair indication of the extent of the different kinds of rights under which the land is held by the occupants. The statement at the end of the volume includes the area done by the Rajshahi party, but following table and review except where otherwise stated refers only to the area done by the Nadia party :—

Nature of right.	Percentage of total area.
<i>Khash</i> lands in direct possession of Proprietors	3·7
Rent-free tenures	3·3
Permanent tenures not on fixed rents	1·6
Permanent tenures on fixed rents	8·5
Temporary tenures	·3
Other tenures	·4
Service raiyats	·7
Raiyatis at fixed rents	19·0
Ordinary settled and occupancy rights	38·0
Ordinary non-occupancy raiyatis	·6
Nominal Utbandi with settled and occupancy rights	4·0
Nominal Utbandi with non-occupancy rights	·5
Real Utbandi not ordinarily so held with occupancy rights	1·0
Real Utbandi not ordinarily so held with non-occupancy rights	·2
Real Utbandi ordinarily so held with occupancy rights	6·0
Real Utbandi ordinarily so held with non-occupancy rights	6·4
Other kinds including area "outside the record" and unoccupied	3·8

Even this distilled production is rather a bulky mixture and put more shortly it may be noted that the land roughly falls into five more or less equal classes. One-fifth (17·8 per cent.) is occupied by proprietors and tenure-holders and one-fifth by raiyats on fixed rents. Ordinary raiyats with settled and occupancy rights hold two-fifths but a certain proportion of the latter two classes is let out to under-raiyats who hold approximately 1/12th of the district. The remaining fifth is either nominal or real Utbandi, the greater portion being "real." Of the area occupied by under-raiyats, the proportion of land with occupancy rights, is approximately 1 to every 5 acres without. In estimating the extent to which occupants have more or less permanent rights in the soil the area to be deducted from that of the three-fifths held by raiyats let out to under-raiyats, is roughly counterbalanced by the Utbandi area in which occupancy rights have accrued; so that it may be said that roughly three-fifths of the district is held by persons predominantly of the cultivating classes with an adequate sense of security.

108. Area held by private proprietors.—The area held by proprietors, 3·7 per cent. may appear rather surprisingly low, considering that in some parts the landlords are said to maintain private cultivation, but it indicates the extent to which proprietors have divested themselves of direct interest in the land by sub-leases, a fact which is undoubtedly connected with the relatively high incidence of revenue as compared with many districts. Another cause is that there are few large bhils or forests which in some districts form big areas not suitable for settlement. The greater portion of the 3·7 per cent. consists of khals, roads, and other miscellaneous types of land, in many of which the public have rights of easement of one kind or another. Though the landlords made much of section 116 of the Bengal Tenancy Act in support of their claim to the right of re-entry upon Utbandi lands, it was nowhere found that any portion of the proprietors' land fell within the meaning of "proprietors' private lands known as *khamar*, *nij* or *nijot*".

109. Land in occupation of tenure-holders.—The amount of land in the

occupation of tenure-holders, 14 per cent., is probably high compared with that in other districts. In Tippera for instance it is only 8·7 per cent. This is due, apart from the fact of extensive subinfeudation by the proprietors, to the poverty of the soil particularly in the west, and to the tradition of direct control of the lands left by the indigo planters. The large extent has another importance; it is the type of land where Utbandi flourishes and must be reckoned with as a potential source of Utbandi tenancies if cultivation extends. Another peculiarity namely, the numerous rent-free tenures has already been remarked. They amounted to 55,448* compared with 15,436 in Tippera.

110. Produce rents.—Land held by tenants, either tenure-holders or raiyats, with produce rents, as opposed to land cultivated by labourers paid in kind were very rare. Not more than 2,000-3,000 acres being recorded in the whole district.

111. Raiyats on fixed rents.—The extent of this class, 19 per cent. of the whole area, is pretty large. In Tippera this only amounted to 2 per cent. It might be supposed that an active landlord's agency fairly well provided with old papers such as existed in Nadia would have avoided any permanent alienation of their assets and that there would have been fewer "*mokarari* raiyats" than in Eastern Bengal. The explanation is probably to be found in the fact that cultivation of the existing area under the plough has so long been established. The most unhealthy parts of the district had a large number of raiyats on fixed rents and these may have originated in the landlord's desire to realise a high *salami* and escape elsewhere with a fixed income. They are rare in the north-west, comparatively so in the north and centre, common in the south and most frequent in the east, holding in Kushtea as much as 40 per cent. of the entire area.

112. Other raiyats.—In Tippera 80 per cent. of the total area was held by ordinary raiyats with occupancy or settled rights. In Nadia taking all raiyats with occupancy rights together including those holding nominal or real Utbandi tenancies, the area covers just under 50 per cent. of the whole. The

*Including the number recorded by the Rajshahi party.

general prevalence of Utbandi is discussed elsewhere.

113. Variation in the prevalence of different rights in the district.—The following table gives the variation of different classes throughout the district.

This has already been discussed. The chief point of interest is the large extent of proprietors and tenure-holders' *khas* lands and the small area held on fixed rents in Utbandi areas, and the extent of *mukarari* rights in non-Utbandi areas :—

[illegible][illegible]

	Tehatta.	Meherpur.	Chapra.	Damurhuda.	Chua-danga.	Hans-khali.	Krishna-ganj.	Jiban-nagar.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Percentage of area in direct possession of proprietors and tenure-holders ..	16	18	15	14	15	14	18	13
Mukarari raiyats ..	11	8	21	29	20	33	36	32
Ordinary settled raiyats ..	26	32	22	36	55	42	31	47
Ordinary non-occupancy raiyats ..	Nil	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	Nil	Nil	Nil
Nominal Utbandi settled raiyats ..	4	1	Nil	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	5	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Nominal Utbandi non-occupancy raiyats ..	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil
Real Utbandi not ordinarily so held settled raiyats ..	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1	Nil
Real Utbandi not ordinarily so held non-occupancy raiyats ..	Nil	$\frac{1}{2}$	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Real Utbandi ordinarily so held occupancy ..	20	18	20	7	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$	3	$\frac{1}{2}$
Real Utbandi ordinarily so held non-occupancy ..	17	$16\frac{1}{2}$	16	4	2	3	2	$\frac{1}{2}$
Others ..	4	4	4	4	4	$1\frac{1}{2}$	4	$2\frac{1}{2}$
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

114. **Raiyati rents and rates in the past.**—The methods by which rents are arrived at, have undergone a large change during the last century. In the early accounts as different degrees of permanence depending on different legal interests were not clear cut or defined by statute, the rents reported are in all cases rents for a particular class of land without reference to any particular class of tenancy under which it may be held. This is true of most districts and not only of Nadia where the rates according to the nature of the

crop have survived in the Utbandi system.

From reports by Collectors between 1786 and 1795 the following figures show the prevalent rates for a considerable part of the district. The average rate for *aus* lands works out at 9 annas 4 pies and for *aman* at 7 annas 5 pies. Homesteads appear to be just over double the *aus* rate, cotton lands also fetched a higher rent. The higher rate for *aus* than for *aman* is probably due to the fact that *aus* implies not so much lands only suitable for *aus* paddy as lands which bear a double crop:—

	Aus rice.	Aman rice.	Home-stead.	Tobacco.	Jute.	Sugar-cane.	Pan.
	A. P.	A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Ashrafabad ..	9 7	7 3	1 3 6	..	..	1 7 7	..
Bagwan ..	8 3	9 9	0 14 9	0 14 9	8 5	..	3 4 0
Faizullapur ..	10 0	5 0	1 6 0	..	..	..	..
Havillishahr ..	9 9	9 9	1 10 0	..	..	1 6 9	..
Jaipur ..	6 6	6 6	0 9 9	0 13 0	..	1 10 0	2 7 0
Khosalpur ..	4 0	5 0	2 4 0	..	..	1 8 0	3 0 0
Kusdaha ..	8 3	6 0	0 14 9	1 0 3	11 6	1 13 3	1 10 0
Krishnagar ..	9 9	8 3	0 14 9	0 14 9	..	1 13 3	3 4 0
Kubazpur ..	8 3	4 3	1 3 6	..	..	..	..
Mahatpur ..	9 9	7 3	0 14 9	0 14 9	..	..	..
Mamjuani ..	9 9	9 2	0 14 9	0 14 9	9 9	1 13 3	4 8 0
Matari ..	6 6	5 0	0 9 9	0 13 0	..	..	..
Nabadwip ..	9 9	13 0	1 3 6	0 13 0	..	..	7 4 0
Pajnaur ..	9 9	7 3	1 3 6	1 10 0	..	1 13 3	4 1 0
Pat Mahal ..	14 0	8 0	1 0 0	..	..	..	..
Plassey ..	11 9	..	1 2 0	0 9 9	..	0 11 6	3 10 8
Rajpur ..	10 0	5 0	1 8 0	..	..	..	..
Santipur ..	9 9	7 3	0 14 9	0 14 9	..	1 3 6	3 4 0
Srinagar ..	9 9	8 3	0 14 9	1 2 0	..	1 13 3	..
Ukhra ..	9 9	7 3	1 3 6	..	..	..	..

NOTE.—These rates are per bigha.

Hunter about a century later in 1872 gives the following rates:—

Bastu lands or house sites have risen from about Rs. 6 an acre to about

	Sadar subdivi- sion.		Chuadanga. subdivision.		Ranaghat subdivision.		Kushtea subdivision.		Meherpur subdivision.	
	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.
Ordinary high land <i>aman</i> or <i>aus</i> with a second crop, pulses or jute ..	0 12 to	1 4	0 12 to	1 4	0 8 to	1 1	0 12 to	1 0	0 6 to	1 0
Pepper or indigo ..	1 0 to	1 4	0 12 to	1 4	0 10 to	1 1	0 12 to	1 0	0 6 to	1 0
Sugarcane ..	1 4 to	2 0	1 8 to	2 4	1 0 to	1 11	1 13 to	..	1 0 to	2 0
Artificial high lands for house sites, tobacco, cotton, mulberry ..	2 4 to	2 12	1 8 to	2 12	1 4 to	2 8	1 7 to	2 3	1 0 to	1 8
Deep low land ..	0 6 to	0 12	....		....		....		....
Orchards (<i>jamai</i>) ..	2 8 to	5 0	5 0	..	1 11 to	2 4	3 8	..	5 0 to	6 4

NOTE.—These rates are per bigha.

These rents are said to be for Utbandi lands and to be about double the rates for *jamai* lands. The average rate for the better class of land not suitable for special crops appears to have risen by about 40 per cent. According to Hunter the general increase in the previous 80 years had been 30 per cent. but in some cases had been as much as 100 per cent. Wages had in the same period risen very much less. At the time of the permanent settlement the rate is reported as about Rs. 4 per month and in 1872 it was not above Rs. 6. The value of the district's produce on the other hand must have increased very much more. A very large proportion of the latter of course went to the indigo planters but there must have been a considerable surplus for the ordinary raiyats. This is borne out by the pretty rapid rise in population prior to 1881.

There is some indication in a comparison between the two statements of a slower rise in rents in Ranaghat subdivision as compared with the rest of the district, though whether this was due to the present day decay setting in there or to the fact that cultivation had been longer established is difficult to say. Sub-letting to under-raiyats may also have been partly responsible for it.

115. Rates at the present time.—Between 1870 and the present day the provisions of the Tenancy Act have accentuated the widely differing scale between rent for lands held under the two systems. Rates for different classes of land held under Utbandi will be found in the separate chapter on that subject.

Rs. 10-13, sugarcane from Rs. 4-8 an acre to Rs. 7-7-6, *aus* lands from about Rs. 2-10 to Rs. 3-10. Roughly speaking the increase has been between 30 per cent. and 50 per cent. The rise in rents of lands held under the ordinary system has been less marked. Assuming Hunter's statement that Utbandi rates were double *jamai* rates as correct, a very rough average raiyati rate at his day would be about Re. 1-12 per acre. At the present time the average rent for raiyats at fixed rents is Re. 1-13-4 per acre and for settled and occupancy raiyats Rs. 2-7-3. The great increase in ordinary raiyati rent is probably less in reality than appears as the present figures include all classes of land including waste. Hunter's rates apparently refer only to cultivated and special classes of land.

116. Raiyati rates in other districts—

		Per acre.		
		Rs.	A.	P.
Nadia fixed rent raiyats ..	..	1	13	4
Nadia settled raiyats ..	..	2	7	3
Tippera ..	..	3	2	2
Noakhali ..	..	4	4	5
Chittagong ..	..	5	0	0
Faridpur ..	..	2	9	2
Dacca ..	..	2	13	0
Jessore Sadar ..	..	2	10	8

Rents for raiyatis appear to be undoubtedly low compared with many parts of other districts. There is also relatively little subinfeudation below the raiyati grade as compared for instance with Jessore, or Birbhum. The result is that it is easy to jump to the conclusion that the dues from the actual

cultivator are substantially lower than elsewhere. But the whole question is complicated by the existence of Utbandi, which renders any comparison difficult. Though there is not any strikingly marked difference between the quality of Utbandi and *jamai* lands in true Utbandi areas, there is a very definite association of raiyatis with the better lands in the district as a unit. And this means that whereas in other districts the raiyati rate is a more or less true average, in Nadia it is an average only for the rather superior lands.

117. Variation of raiyati rents.—As may be gathered from the preceding chapter there are substantial contrasts in soil and cultivation between different parts of the district and still greater contrasts in the different systems of tenure under which land is held. Average rates for the different thanas therefore vary pretty widely. For settled and occupancy raiyats they range from Rs. 3-9-11 per acre in Kumarkhali to Re. 1-12-5 in Hanskhali.

The sketches on pages 96 and 97 show the different rates prevailing in different thanas, as well as two other factors which appear to have some bearing on them, namely (1) density of population, (2) extent of cultivation:—

There is a well-marked association of the rent and population incidence. This indicates that even with an alternative more elastic system such as Utbandi at hand, raiyati settlements are not in-adjustable to economic changes. On the other hand there are notable variations between the two factors. In Kaliganj, Ranaghat, Chakdah and Haringhata rents are high, while population is sparse. In Kushtea and Mirpur rents are low while population is high. The former case is the more marked because of the extent of subinfeudation beneath the raiyati interests.

Double cropping as mentioned in a previous chapter has no relation to population and similarly it appears to have no bearing on the rate of rent. This emphasises the fact that the type of country where an *aus* and *rabi* crop are grown together is not as remunerative as one which produces a good rice crop.

The extent to which the greater portion of the total area is cultivated is of course reflected in the density of population and either through the latter or

directly has its influence on rents. The relation however does not appear to be very close. In Mirpur and Kushtea where cultivation is extensive rents are low. In Santipur, Nabadwip and Nakashipara cultivation is limited but rents are high. In the case of the two former the influence of two big towns is no doubt at work.

Finally there is the prevalence of Utbandi. This appears in a very general way to be associated with low rents and its absence with high ones. This is of course to be expected inasmuch as the system itself is devised for poor soils; on the other hand other factors being equal it works in the other direction, *i.e.*, in forcing up raiyati rents, partly because it makes a raiyati a more valued possession, and partly because changes of rent are easier. This probably has a good deal to do with the high rates in Kaliganj and Nakashipara and the low rates in Mirpur and Kushtea.

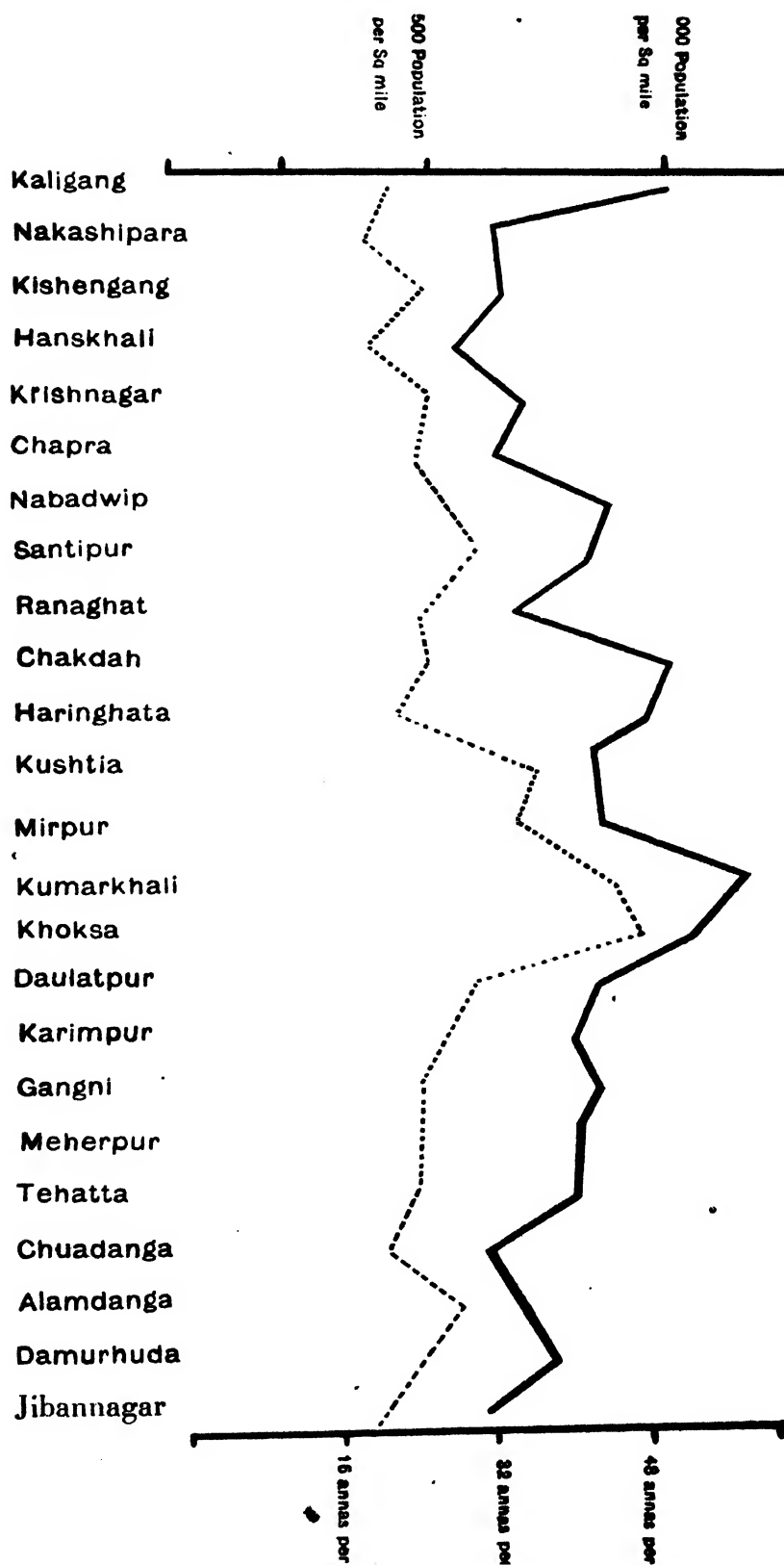
In Eastern Bengal owing to the inelasticity of the tenure system, the more valuable crops such as jute comparatively recently introduced are often grown on low rented lands, while the less remunerative paddy crops are associated with parts of the districts where rent is high. This does not seem to be the case to the same extent in Nadia, the most valuable crops undoubtedly come from the north-east and the south corners of the district: in both parts rents are high. To revert once more, however, to the rather anomalous cases of Kushtea and Mirpur, these parts do appear to be lightly assessed in relation to the quality of the crops grown as well as to population. This is in contrast with the north-west where not only raiyati rates, but Utbandi may be definitely said to be high in relation to the productive capacity of the soil. In fact the poorer the tenant, the more he has to pay because he has not the ammunition for a fight.

PART III.—THE PRESENT OPERATIONS.

Chapter I.—Field work.

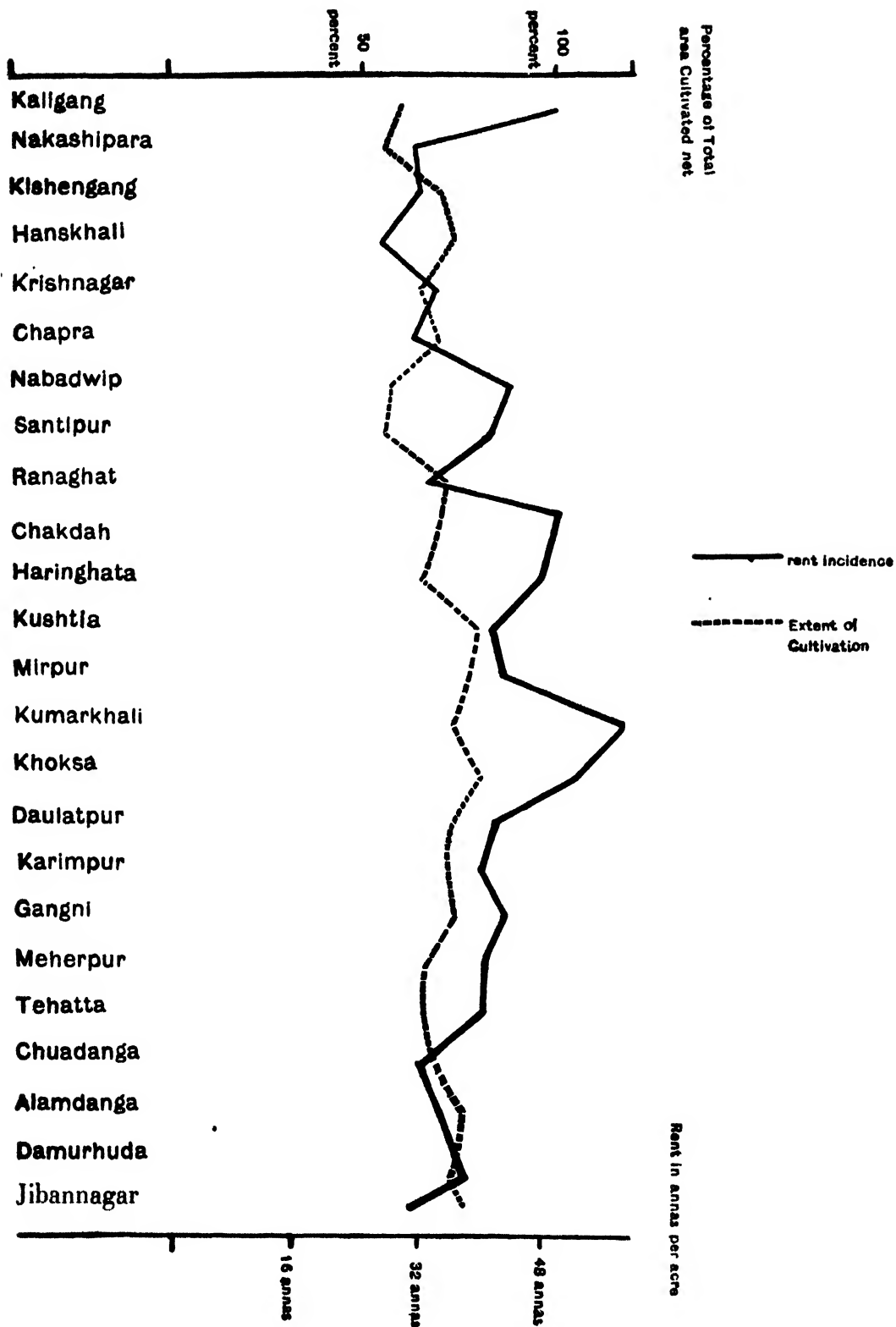
118. Initiation and scope of the operations.—By its letter No. 6635 of the 4th September 1917 to the Government of India, the Government of Bengal asked for sanction to deviate from the

Settled Raiyati rents and Population.



————— Rent in annas
 Population Incidence

Settled Raiyati rents and Cultivation.



provincial programme as previously laid down and to take up with effect from the cold weather of 1917 the survey and settlement of Nadia district. The reasons given for the proposed deviation were that since attention has been directed to the question of the Utbandi tenancies in connexion with the Rajshahi operations, it was desirable, in fact a question of urgent necessity, to ensure a final decision of the difficulties due to the existence of this type of tenancy which was more prevalent in Nadia than any where else; that for the same reason the district of Murshidabad would probably be taken up after Nadia and the old military barracks at Berhampore in Murshidabad would provide accommodation convenient for the headquarters of the operations in both districts; and that the Port Commissioners of Calcutta were in need of maps of the river Hooghly from Nailhati to Nadia which would conveniently be prepared in the course of the Nadia settlement. The Traverse Survey was started in 1917-18 and the survey and settlement operations in 1918-19.

The original estimate was that diara survey of the Bhagirathi would entail the addition of 200 square miles of survey and record-writing outside the district itself. But it was found that only 94 square miles in districts lying across the river need be surveyed in that connexion. The Rajshahi settlement party had, moreover, found it necessary in connexion with the diara operations of the Padma to survey 281 square miles in Nadia as against our estimate of 190 square miles. The result has been that whereas the programme of this settlement was for the survey and settlement of 2,803 square miles the actual work required to be done covered 2,658 square miles, of which 94 square miles lay in other districts.

The area was divided into 3 blocks. The first comprised all Ranaghat subdivision and the western half of Sadar subdivision as well as a strip lying along the west bank of the Bhagirathi in Murshidabad, Burdwan and Hooghly districts; from which, however, except for parts of revenue mauzas falling partly inside and partly outside Katwa and Kalna municipalities, the municipal areas of Katwa and Kalna in Burdwan, Chinsurah and Tribeni in Hooghly and Kanchrapara and Halishahar in the 24-Parganas were excluded. This came to 953 square miles. It was not found

necessary to work over again 5 square miles on police-station Santipur, which had recently been the subject of petty settlement proceedings.

The second block covered the rest of the Sadar subdivision, the south part of Meherpur subdivision and all Chua-danga subdivision except Alamdanga police-station. This covered 915 square miles.

The third block covered the rest of Meherpur and Chuadanga subdivisions and all of Kushtea subdivision left out by the Rajshahi party. It was 790 square miles.

119. Survey.—The traverse survey throughout was good. In each block a little sub-traverse had to be done, but this was never a big item. It was done by the head draftsman who is a trained Surveyor. The only area where considerable difficulty was experienced was in the diara strip along the Bhagirathi. The traverse party had taken the river to be the district boundary, so that the prepared traverse sheets did not on the side next the river bear much relation to the boundaries of the revenue mauzas. A good part of the survey in Ranaghat subdivision was difficult owing to the prevalence of thick jungle. The same is true of the survey along the west bank of the Bhagirathi, an area which displays many of the same features from a survey point of view as Ranaghat subdivision, being full of jungle and old crumbling masonry houses.

The settlement made a rather unfortunate start from which it never completely recovered during the first season's field-work. The first field season coincided with the influenza visitation which was very seriously felt in Nadia. For the first month and a half, work was practically at a standstill. After that when the virulence of the epidemic had somewhat abated it was difficult to make up lost ground since the majority of the good Amins had left with a determination never again to come to the infernal place (*Narakkunda*). In this block, too, work was bound to be rather disorganized for both the municipal and diara sheets were received late in the season. The work progressed rather unevenly, but all things considered the survey was satisfactory.

The second season's survey went smoother, though we were always rather short of Amins. Sickness in a malarial district like Nadia was bound to

be prevalent and the malarial season coincides with the months in which the survey should be completed. The nature of the country did not present any features of difficulty except the *basti* sites. For this extra fees were freely allowed. This was rather an anxious year's work. For the work to be protracted as it was in the first season would probably have meant a breakdown in the three block programme. One year's late season leads to another. For when the staff is kept in the field after the break of the rains, its health is affected and the next year's work suffers. Owing to shortage of Kanungos one circle could not be started until January but the leeway was made up. An unfortunate end to the season was the loss by a Kanungo on his way back to headquarters of the complete sheets of his *halka*. Some traces were obtained from landlords' agents, but they were found to be not sufficiently accurate to enable us to make use of them. A complete resurvey had eventually to be made.

At the close of this season a complete demarcation of the boundary between Nadia and Burdwan in places where it did not coincide with the midstream of the Bhagirathi was carried out by means of stone pillars.

In the last field season, the department reverted to the four party programme. Anxiety was felt about getting a sufficient number of Amins. Shortage of Amins had always been one of the chief difficulties. Accordingly three hundred local men were trained as Amins in the previous rains. Kanungos were forced to employ a percentage of the Nadia trained Amins in the following field season. They usually worked in pairs. They proved to be slow and rather untidy but fairly accurate workers. Another difficulty felt throughout the operations was to secure an even distribution of Amins. Amins would avoid places they found unhealthy and in particular they did not like to burn their boats by going too far away from the railway lines. Also each Kanungo had more or less his own Amins, who would not like to work for any one else. Where the demand exceeded the supply and the Amins knew it, Kanungos were not always able to enforce proper discipline.

In the third block survey was of the same kind as in the second block and was again, though not seriously, protracted by the usual attacks of malaria

in the cold weather months. This year double fees were paid for all *basti* survey.

An object which was kept steadily in view at every stage was to have the work at that stage as good as possible. This sounds something of a truism but really has a practical bearing. Settlement operations contain many stages and at each stage there is an opportunity of rectifying mistakes, which have been made in an earlier stage. It is sometimes forgotten, however, that correction involves double work, first the mistake has to be deleted, and secondly the corrected work has to be substituted. There is, therefore, a loss of time (quite apart from the danger of the mistake avoiding detection) and in the record-writing stages where corrections involve changes in a number of co-lateral papers the margin of possible error becomes vastly enlarged. The most common mistakes in area of plots and the occurrence in the maps of unnumbered plots were discovered to arise from corrections (*badars*) made by the Kanungo in the map at the time of *bujharat*. These mistakes are always natural when a man is working under pressure in a hot sun. In addition a serious situation arises when survey mistakes going as it were to the root of the map are discovered even as early as *khanapuri*. By that time the survey Amins' points on the ground have probably become obliterated and in any case the work of identifying them takes a great deal of time. To avoid all this, the prescribed standard of portal was set down as double that required in the Technical Rules. The incidence of portal in each block was respectively:—

4·09 miles per square mile in A block.

4·04 Ditto B block.

4·00 Ditto C block.

The rule was that a portal line had to go through the homestead area of every sheet containing such. Charge officers were advised to confine their portal practically to re-running the Kanungos' lines, in order to check any tendency on the part of Kanungos, from whom so much portal was demanded, to be careless about it. Kanungos were made to purchase ponies and the pony allowance granted in the last field season left them no excuse for not doing so. As a matter of fact they all had ponies. They could not cope with the portal

without. The portal demanded works out at 66 chains a day for each Kanungo when survey is in full swing. That is by no means an impossible task. And the advantages are so great when a substantially accurate map is obtained at the very beginning, that almost no price is too high for obtaining that result.

The correct principles of cadastral survey have been laid down in the Technical Rules of the department with a copy of which each Kanungo and with a vernacular copy of which each Amin was supplied. Adherence to these was insisted on. Emphasis was laid on the size of *Morubbas* and the proper placing of chain lines along the *ails* of fields. A selected Amin in each *halka* did the inking up. A Kanungo sets out to his *halka* with traces of all previous surveys, *e.g.*, of acquired land within his *halka*, railway land, and at first we tried to get traces of all roads. But we had to give this up, as the local authorities never know where their maps were, and in a district where land is as plentiful as in Nadia, there was not much fear of encroachment. The traces of khas mahal and tauzi settlement estates the Kanungo got from his Circle Officer. He also had traces of the boundary as surveyed by other district settlements, *e.g.*, Rajshahi, Faridpur and Jessore where his area marched with it. Careful comparison with all these maps was insisted on. Each Kanungo was also supplied with a trace of the *thakbust* map of each of his mauzas. The last was not given to survey Amins. The fear was that the Amins would follow the *thak* blindly. Even Kanungos are too prone to do this.

120. The unit of survey: "villages".—As regards the unit of survey, in almost every case the revenue survey mauza was adopted. The revenue survey mauza in Nadia is on the whole big, except in Kumarkhali and Khoksa police-stations, which were parts of Pabna district at the time of the revenue survey and which were therefore surveyed by the Pabna Surveyors at a time when the distinction between unit of survey and the estates had not become crystallized. The revenue mauza had to be deviated from in the case of alluvion and diluvion of mauzas which lay by the sides of rivers forming the district boundary and the boundary of police-stations. Instances of the first occurred along the Bhagirathi between Nadia and Murshidabad and along the Jel-langhi between the same districts.

Instances of the second occurred as regards the Matabhanga and Kumar in police-stations Karimpur, Daulatpur, Gangni, Mirpur, Alamdanga and Kushtea. Where possession of the reformed part still lay with the parent mauza, and the reformation was 50 acres or more in size, a new unit of survey was adopted. Where the reformation was very small or possession lay with the mauza to which the reformation had accreted the reformed area was amalgamated with the mauza or mauzas to which it had accreted. The revenue mauza had of course to be departed from where it was not in accordance with present possession. This frequently arises in areas exposed to fluvial action.

In both A and B blocks there were instances of *jalkar* revenue mauzas—long strips of water which were gradually drying up. These were awkward in shape and were accordingly amalgamated piecemeal along the course with the mauzas on each side of them. There was no separate property in the sub-soil of these *jalkars* such as would have justified us in retaining them as independent mauzas.

In one or two cases, revenue survey mauzas were divided. This happened only when the revenue survey mauzas was very big and its constituent parts were different and passed locally under different names.

Another revenue survey mauza, parts of which according to the existing notification lay in the jurisdiction of two police-stations, had also to be divided.

In Kumarkhali and Khoksa amalgamation was fully resorted to as the revenue survey mauza had been determined on principles different from those followed by the revenue surveyors in the rest of the district.

The usual notices were issued, objections heard and the concurrence of the Collector obtained before the proposed new units were finally adopted by us. Objections were very rare.

121. Khanapuri.—The villagers take little interest in the survey. They never could be brought to see that it affected them in the least.

They were much more interested in the record-writing (*khanapuri*). This is the stage of work that always seem to me to be the least satisfactorily done. Amins pose before the villagers as the final authority. What illegal gratification they hope to extract, they look to

extracting at this stage. Inspection is least severe. Kanungos are either busy portalling the backward Amins or else have already started *bujharat* on their own, and yet what a difference a good preliminary record makes.

In *Nadia khanapuri* was made very easy for the Amins. Before the settlement began, a Mahalwar Register was prepared for the whole district, and every Circle Officer and Kanungo was given a printed copy at the beginning of each field season. The Mahalwar Register showed each estate and opposite each estate the mauzas in which each estate was shown in the Collector's register to have lands. The mauza and the circle in which the revenue was to be recorded were shown in the Mahalwar Register and the Circle Officer of that circle was made responsible for the correct record of that particular estate. The Circle Officer was called the recording Circle Officer. All other Circle Officers in whose circle that particular estate occurred had to refer to the recording Circle Officer for the correct record of that particular estate. In this way a uniform record was obtained at the start and the repetition of enquiries by different officers into the same facts was avoided. The recording Circle Officer was made similarly responsible for the correct record of all tenures held under the estate occurring within his circle and in regard to them also the same reference system was established. As a preliminary to the second and third field seasons, a further step was taken. Kanungos in the previous recess were sent out one to each police-station. Each Kanungo was given a copy of the Mahalwar Register on which was marked the estates assigned for enquiry to each Kanungo, a copy of the Collector's D Register of all such estates, and copies of the *Thak* Statement of every mauza within his police-station. It was his duty after local inquiry and summoning the parties to prepare a tenure tree and to open proprietary *khatians* and *khatians* of recurring tenures for each of his mauzas. As regards the estates falling within his police-station which had been assigned to other Kanungos, references were made, analogous to the references made during the field season itself referred to above. The procedure then was set out as follows in the General Order: "Mauzawar as well as Tauziwar tenure trees have been prepared in the recess and every copy of

the Mahalwar Register fully written up. Each Circle Officer should have received D Register and Tauziwar tenure trees and draft *khatians* of superior interests of all the estates, the revenue of which has, according to the Mahalwar Register, to be recorded by him, and each Kanungo a tenure tree and *khatians* of superior interests of every mauza in his *halka*. The Circle Officer must reopen inquiries for the correction of all his D Registers and the draft *khatians* of recurring interest of his estates and must notify changes to the Kanungos of his *halka*. Similarly every change affecting a recurring interest discovered by a Kanungo in the field must be reported to the Circle Officer, who, if it concerns an estate, the revenue of which is recorded in his circle and the change is Mahalwar and not Mauzawar only, must correct his tenure tree and draft *khatian* after verification, and inform the other Kanungos of his circle. If the estate belongs to another circle he should notify that circle for correction of the *khatian*. These inquiries should be finished before the end of *khanapuri*. At the beginning of *bujharat* each Circle Officer must ask for and get copies of all superior *khatians* of recurring interests from the revenue recording Circle Officers for estates with land within their circles but the revenue of which is not recorded by them. This implies references to attestation circles where the revenue is recorded in B block and to the S.T.T. Branch at Sadar when the revenue is recorded in A block, and these must be communicated to the Kanungos on the field."

This system was well suited to conditions in *Nadia* where there was no elaborate coparcenery but the result by which the immediate landlord of the raiyats came to hold over them in a variety of large recurring interests mostly on the *patni* type is the culmination of a sometimes intricate process of sub-infeudation. The Amin had never to bother about the complex chain of superior interests. It was given to him ready made and all that even the Kanungos at *bujharat* had to do was to report to Circle Officers any modification coming to light which the Circle Officer in his enquiries might have overlooked. The Attestation Officer's work was thus very much lightened. The same system of reference based on the Mahalwar Register was maintained at attestation and final *janch*, but usually

the ground had been covered with sufficient thoroughness in the field season and the references in the later stages disclosed a record already uniform except as regards the *khatian* numbers of *barati khatians* which changed on re-arrangement of the record after attestation.

This system of inquiries and references was another expression of the importance attached to getting things right at the start. It was not rigidly enforced in the first field season with the result that attestation was considerably hampered by the faulty record of the superior interests on the preliminary record of rights. But it worked well in the other blocks and in the end saved a lot of trouble.

The form of the preliminary record has now become standardized in the Technical Rules and calls for little comment. Separate possession by groups of co-sharers was shown on the obverse of the *khatian* by drawing a line across column 13 and column 14 between each separate group. Each of the divisions so made was lettered. This lettering was not used as in Comilla on the reverse but the first name appearing in the group with "gong" (i.e., *qairaha*, "and others") added signified that possession lay jointly with all the persons falling within such group as shown on the reverse. A similar system of grouping was adopted to indicate separate collection of rent. In the appropriate column of the subordinate *khatian* appeared the *khatian* number and group letter of the rent-receiver's *khatian* and in column 2 the first name of the appropriate group with "gong" added. The Amin at *khanapuri* filled up the agricultural stock list, list of lands over which a right of easement exists and all crops in the *krasra*. These were checked by the Kanungo at *bujharat*. The reference list of notable objects was not used. Instead, the remark column of the *krasra* was used for that purpose and the *alamats* were filled in in the Drawing Office on a reference to that.

At *Khanapuri* the Amin was given the thak map. He was also supposed to enter disputes, and the Kanungo to decide them at this stage. For the reasons given above in reference to *khanapuri* inspection, the tendency rather was to let disputes accumulate for *bujharat*.

In respect of any land claimed to be *Utbandi*, the Amin simply wrote *dakhal* in column 13 without any description. He entered in the tenants' *khatians* fallow land claimed to be *Utbandi* upon which the tenant retained a sort of lien. For the Amin therefore *khanapuri* was an extremely simple business. We expected an outturn of 100 plots a day but very rarely got it. Even the check of the maps was not always carefully done and a good deal of the Kanungos' time was taken up in sub-dividing plots amicably partitioned among co-sharers. On the north-east of the district there were sometimes as many as 30 to 50 co-sharers in a single raiyati holding with a large number of groups holding separate possession. This accounts for the heavy incidence of plots on that side.

122. Nal disputes.—As the areas according to the local standard of measurement had to be filled in in the *parchas* and preliminary record before *bujharat* the interval between *khanapuri* and *bujharat* was the stage at which *nal* disputes were decided by the Circle Officer. This part of the work aroused intense interest and the disputes were keenly contested.

In fact the whole countryside was agog in that part of the district lying north of a line drawn across the map from *Nabadwip* to the south-east corner of *Alamdanga*. In the south and in *Kushtea*, *Kumarkhali* and *Khoksha* the question was not much contested. In those latter areas, the rental of the holdings had ordinarily remained unchanged for many years and the survival unimpaired of the large old *pargannahs* was really undisputed.

But in the former area successive re-measurement with a reduction of measuring rod had been the rule, and had for the last 50 years led to steady increases in the raiyats' rents which they very much resented. They expected the Settlement Department to go into antiquarian researches as to the length of the *pargannah nal* prevailing at the time of the permanent settlement, and certified copies of old collectorate correspondence and of extracts from old collectorate registers were flourished before the eyes of the Circle Officer.

These disputes were decided on the basis of the length of *nal* which by comparison of area appeared actually to

have been used on assessing the holdings to rent. The question of the legality of the measurement so far as it affected the legality of the rent was an issue to be decided at another stage. It was explained that the local area was only put in the preliminary record for the better understanding of the tenants and for check of the record against the landlords' papers. *Nal* disputes relating to ordinary raiyati holdings were not re-opened at a later stage.

The raiyats were very dissatisfied to start with, but when they saw at attestation that the question of the legality of the rents was gone into thoroughly, they were inclined to let the matter drop.

The *nal* disputes, however, which related to "Utbandi" land stood on a different footing. As the rent is liable to annual variation according to the area found each year in each tenant's possession, the length of the local *nal* was an integral and vital part of the final record. These disputes were reviewed at every stage right up to objections, and involved a great deal of tedious and exacting work. The procedure adopted where possible was to ascertain the complete area of the mauza as disclosed by the landlords' *chittas*, and to compare their area with the areas ascertained by the cadastral survey on conversion into the competing local standards. This was the only satisfactory mode of procedure because the areas of individual plots as shown in the landlords' *chittas* were liable to be distorted according to the amount of gratification which had passed from the raiyat to the Utbandi Amin. Moreover it was often very difficult to identify the *chitta* plots with our survey plots. The *chitta* plots were based on what was called an *ekandaz chitta*, that is a *chitta* prepared after actual measurement on the ground. The *ekandaz chittas* were frequently much out of date. But this method of decision was only possible when the landlord was in possession of the whole mauza or at least of a substantial and compact block of the mauza. Officers were advised to check the results so reached against the second method of testing groups of plots because it was found that the Utbandi Amin frequently measured the arable part of the mauza with a large *nal* but showed the total area of the mauza as measured by the smaller *nal* by exaggerating the area

of the unculturable parts. Sometimes co-sharer landlords kept separate papers which showed separate areas and we had in consequence sometimes to come to a different finding in respect to the *nal* used by each landlord. In such cases which fortunately were very few in number the two *nals* had to be entered in the record.

Again it might happen that the landlord had increased the area assessable to rent by decreasing the *nal*. In respect of lands on which occupancy rights had already accrued before the introduction of the new *nal* and the older *nal* was recorded. So again it happened that two *nals* had sometimes to be recorded as applicable to the different lands of a single *khatian*.

In the decision of these disputes documentary evidence was not relied on much. Just as the old papers relating to former pargannah *nals* were rejected as irrelevant as against the landlords, so *hat-chittas* delivered to the raiyats on which the *nal* claimed by the landlord was entered, or entries to the same effect on the front page of the landlords' *chittas*, were not held to be admissions as against the tenants. Proper legal advice was solicited and obtained in support of the procedure adopted, as *nal* disputes in Utbandi land were frequent, fierce and affected a vital part of the record.

123. Initial recess.—On completion of *khanapuri*, area extraction and initial recess was gone through in the ordinary way. The main office at Berhampore was too far away from the field operations to be a convenient centre for the area extractions. So this section was located in Krishnagar for A and B blocks and in Alamdanga for C block. The work was smoothly done by competent hands under experienced supervision and Kanungos' *bujharat* was never retarded by delay in getting back the sheets. No sheet except under the special instruction of the charge officer was accepted in the Area Section unless 3 out of the 4 sides had been inked up after boundary comparison.

We followed the Comilla method of making each Kanungo responsible for his own initial recess. Kanungos not accustomed to this responsibility may make a bad mess of it. In A block in Jessore for instance the work was badly neglected. In Nadia the nucleus of the staff came from Comilla, and there was

never much reason to complain about the way it was done. The Kanungos had perhaps greater difficulties in Nadia in this respect than in Comilla. In Comilla quite competent Mohurris could be recruited from local men. In Nadia this was not as a rule possible. Kanungos were told at the beginning of the season to keep a look-out for good material from among the Amins and Amin's Mohurris employed within their *halkas*. Selected persons from among them formed the initial recess staff with a *badar* Amin in charge.

124. **Bujharat.**—*Bujharat* in each block started generally in February. It was prolonged in the first block for the reasons already stated, in the second block all field work was closed down by the middle of June and in the last block by the end of June.

The temperature of the district during the months when *bujharat* was done is at its maximum. Attempts were made to encourage the Kanungos to start work early in the morning and to get it over by the afternoon. But the people are late risers and Kanungos rarely got proper attendance before 8 o'clock. The standard daily outturn of 150 plots was usually reached once the Kanungo got into his stride. And there was no reason why it should not have been. The heavy portal of the survey did not as a rule entail important changes at the stage in the maps. The Kanungos had not as in Comilla to write up themselves the reference lists, agricultural stock lists or lists of land over which rights of easement existed. Nor were they as in Comilla required to ink up on the field with their own hands the various *alamats* on the map. Their main business was to see that the work was substantially correct and that the land had been entered in the correct interests. Not only had the same tenant usually an ordinary raiyati land and Utbandi land, but of the raiyati land he usually held more than one *jama*, and frequently land in *korfa* or under-raiyati right as well. It was sometimes found that Kanungos, particularly new Kanungos, would waste a lot of time making minute changes in the map which could not affect the area at all, and overlook the much more important point of getting the land into the right interest. In this connexion it may be remarked that the accuracy of a settlement record depends enormously on the

amount of co-operation forthcoming at *bujharat* from the parties. Where landlords have their papers ready and these papers are good and the tenants are intelligent and knowledgeable there is much more chance of an accurate record at *bujharat* than when the landlords are badly equipped and the tenants ignorant and listless. The presence of instructed agents with papers at the *bujharat* table was insisted on and no rent was recorded unless a rent receipt to support it was produced; even so the material we had to work on in Nadia (and my experience in Jessore was the same) was scarcely ever so satisfactory as the material available in Eastern Bengal. If *bujharat* failed in the respects noted there was not very much chance of all the mistakes being rectified at attestation. In one large mauza in Damurhuda police-station the Attestation Officer had to do the field *bujharat* again. The Kanungo responsible had already been dismissed.

Kanungos were not really concerned with the intricacies of Utbandi. These were left for the Attestation Officer. Besides the actual check of the map and the verification of the entries in the preliminary record the Kanungo made a short note of the rent history of the raiyati so far as it related to Utbandi. He was supplied with printed rent notes, the first part of these related to Utbandi tenancies. The characteristics differentiating Utbandi from non-Utbandi tenancies were printed in the note in both the affirmative and negative. The Kanungo had to pen through either one or the other with reference to the fact as ascertained in the field. There were 3 columns in the rent note and the Kanungo had to note in each of the 3 columns the Utbandi rates in full in each of the three last decades.

A separate rent note was prepared for each estate in each mouza. Part II of the rent note which related to ordinary holdings was not filled up at this stage. In accordance with the facts brought to light in filling up the rent note the Kanungo filled up in column 13 left blank by the Amin, the description of the tenancies which passed by the name of Utbandi. The rule was as follows: "Kanungos will write in column 13 Utbandi for tenancies claimed as such in regard to which the landlords prepare annual *chittas* and the annual rent admits of calculation based on the

amount of land cultivated from year to year. Tenancies which though called Utbandi exhibit none of the characteristics of that system, *e.g.*, the landlord does not maintain *chittas* so that the rent cannot be apportioned according to the land taken up each year by the tenant will be called in column 13 'nominal Utbandi' and the rents will be noted in columns 4 and 5 in the ordinary way."

This rule seemed to provide an easily distinguishable criterion to guide the Kanungo at this stage. In regard to real Utbandi tenancies the Kanungo had not to record any rent in ink. He noted the amount of the last payment in pencil. He had also to ring round plots in the *khatian* of real Utbandi tenancies which were never left fallow or for which rent was always paid. This was of service to the Attestation Officer when he had to come to a finding as to the identity of the plots in which occupancy rights had accrued. With the same object in view the first year's classification of all arable land as *nal* was abandoned in the other blocks. Arable land was sub-divided into *aman* and *aus* which corresponded with the local classification; the general custom being that *aman* lands, which were comparatively low-lying lands forming the drainage basins described in Part I, were never left fallow. This classification was also a rough guide to the Attestation Officer, though in both B and C blocks many lands classed as *aus* were either never fallow or rent was paid for them when fallow in order to preserve the tenant's lien.

The character of individual tenancies passing locally under the names of Utbandi had not to be considered at all in differentiating between tenancies really held under that custom and tenancies only nominally so held. The unit for determination of this was the whole of a particular landlord's interest in the mauza. For instance, particular tenants may have held the same land for generations and paid the same rent. This was held to be merely an accident if as a matter of fact the landlord maintained in respect of them and of his other tenants *chittas* prepared each year after local inquiry on the basis of which there was a potentiality of annual fluctuation.

At this stage, the detailed comparison with other maps was made.

Kanungos had to maintain a *thak* comparison form showing how far present possession of different estates coincided with possession as found by the *thak*.

Excluding always the Kumarkhali side the *thaks* were found to be good. They were of the Mahalwar type as described in paragraph 60 of the Rajshahi Settlement Report. A few *khetbat thaks* were found relating to mauzas near the boundary of the 24-Parganas. A certain difficulty was experienced in regard to estates created as a result of resumption of invalid rent-free lands. These resumptions were carried out on a large scale in the south and south-east of the district. The *thakbust* statements usually gave the case numbers only. A clerk was kept in Krishnagar, one of whose duties was to answer inquiries in regard to these. There was a register in the collectorate which in the majority of cases showed the result of the cases: whether the land was released, formed into a revenue-paying estate or a revenue-free estate. As nearly all the estates thus formed were petty and non-recurring, failure to identify the estate to which the land belonged would have involved either troublesome inquiries at a later stage or the disappearance of the estate from the rent roll of the district. Local people could give very little help and the question of possession scarcely arose. The recorded proprietor was ordinarily a small local man who held other rent-free land and could not say which land formed his revenue-paying and which his rent-free land. In some instances, different estates had been formed out of one case; as many as 40 in mauza Birnagar. Particular difficulty was experienced on the Kumarkhali side. The *thak* statements showed numbers only. These numbers might stand either for cases or for estates. In regard to the cases we did not obtain any register in any of the collectorates such as helped us in the record of other parts of the district. If the numbers stood for revenue-paying estates, we had to find out what the parent numbers were, and on the *tauzi* roll of which district. In this part, Pabna, Faridpur, Jessore and Nadia estates all jostled one another. Estates had been transferred from one district to another with confusing rapidity, and the collectorate records from all collectorates in respect of them

were somewhat chaotic. The people and the landlords' agents were not able to throw much light on the subject. The landlords usually held land in a number of estates in different interests and did not attempt to distinguish the land of each interest in each estate. Between *bujharat* and attestation, inquiries were made from as many sources as possible. By the time attestation started, a fairly complete comparative table giving the old and the new numbers was able to be given to each Attestation Officer working on that side. For the sake of record this is printed in Appendix IV.

There was no re-arrangement of the record after *bujharat*. But cross-references to interests spread over more than one *khatian* (*jer ijja khatians*) were checked at *bujharat janch* and the numbers of subordinate *khatians* were entered in columns 17 and 18. The Kanungo had to total the area of the *khatians* himself. For this purpose he maintained in the field a "*khatian total*" form in which he entered after totalling it himself the area of the land on the direct possession of each *khatian*. The *badar* Amin totalled the *khasra* and the Kanungo certified on the "*khatian total*" form that the area had been passed. There was a final scrutiny of the maps, which were then sent up to the Drawing Office with the file of boundary disputes, the *khasra* and the register of corrections made at *bujharat* in the map.

The completion of *bujharat janch* usually occupied a fortnight after the close of actual work in the field.

On the whole it may be said that the intrinsic nature of the field work in Nadia did not present exceptional difficulties. The real difficulties lay in the very bulk of the work, the unhealthiness of the climate and subsequent depletion of the staff by illness, and the shortage of Amins.

The programme itself was rather ambitious.

	Square miles.	Plots.	Interests.	Halka.
Block A contained ..	953.	1,037,370	399,788	71
" B " ..	915	1,143,483	327,074	65
" C " ..	790	1,337,234	371,655	66

The average *halka* therefore contained in block A $13\frac{1}{2}$ square miles and 14,540 plots, in block B $14\frac{1}{2}$ square miles and

17,592 plots and block C 12 square miles and 20,261 plots. The *bujharat* programme was rather too heavy, on an average for the whole operations of 17,391 plots per *halka*. A season's programme of from 12,000 to 15,000 plots is quite enough for a single *halka* in any unhealthy district.

As was natural from the character of the district, there were not many disputes as to actual cultivating possession. The total number of disputes was:—A block 5,412, B block 4,593, C block 2,798.

In the first half of the first block owing to unforeseen events the supervising staff was rather weak but the field staff which was transferred more or less bodily from Comilla was good. In the second block the field staff had undergone a process of watering but the supervising staff was first class. In the third block the weakening of the field staff had reached the danger limit and the circle staff was just a little on the weak side, but the superior supervising staff was again strong. Perhaps rather too much strain was thrown on them.

In the recess the Drawing Office did the usual boundary comparison, scrutiny of the maps, preparation and check of new jurisdiction lists against the proceedings embodying the creation of new units of survey; and the *khasra* section did the preparation of the usual agricultural statistics. Kanungos were told off to do the usual stock-taking and check of job and contract bills.

The records of B and C blocks were not brought to the head office at Berhampore. They were kept in mofussil record rooms, which for B block records were established at Meherpur and Krishnagar and for C block records at Meherpur and Alamdanga.

Chapter II.—Attestation, janch and objections.

125. **Preliminary work.**—Owing to the difficulties attaching to the preparation of the record-of-rights in those parts of the district in which the Utbandi tenancy was prevalent, attestation recaptured much of the importance in Nadia, of which in other districts *bujharat* had deprived it.

Moreover the differences in the law applicable in Eastern and in Western Bengal imposed a much heavier obligation on the Attestation Officer in Nadia to scrutinize the legality of existing sums which were being paid as rent.

The Attestation Officer carried with him to his circle a list and trace of boundary *badars* which had come to light during the recess work of the Drawing Office, a small scale map (*mujmili*) of his circle with the new jurisdiction list number of the mauzas, the Mahalwar Register described above, written up to show the distribution of the record of estates among the different Attestation Officers, the D Registers of estates of which he was the recording officer, and a list with traces and histories (compiled from the collectorate estate bundles) of all khas mahal and temporarily-settled estates occurring in his circle.

Before starting attestation, starting from the point where *bujharat janch* had left them, some preliminary work had to be done on the records. The area of interests extending over more than one *khatian* page (*jer ijja khatians*) was totalled and the area of raiyati holdings extending over more than one mauza was brought together. The total sub-let area of raiyati holdings was also struck. The reasons are perhaps obvious. On attesting a raiyati *khatian*, the Attestation Officer had to satisfy himself that the correct plots had been entered therein. The raiyat usually knew approximately what the area was, or if he did not know that, he knew the rate at which the rent was supposed to have been assessed. It was an impossible and fruitless task for the Attestation Officer to check every plot on each *khatian*, and he would have had great difficulty in explaining its identity to the raiyat. Noticeable discrepancies between rent and area should have been noticed and usually were noticed by the Attestation Officers. The inspecting staff used to check the attestation by making this rough comparison and in a good many cases re-attestation of individual *khatians* was ordered. Sometimes in this way real mistakes came to light and sometimes the discrepancy was explained by some such fact as dispossession. During the recess the raiyats usually took the opportunity of studying their *porchas* and were then able to bring mistakes to

the notice of the Attestation Officer themselves. But they could not be relied on to do this.

In areas where the rents had run on for many years and the relation to area had become obscured, this kind of check lost a good deal of its efficacy.

The Attestation Officer had first to begin an enquiry with the rent history of the mauza, and where the existence of Utbandi was claimed, into the character of the tenancies in respect of which the claim was made. He had before him the Kanungo's rent note, and the parties and their documents.

126. Principles of classification of Utbandi.—For the sake of record, it seems to me to be desirable to give in full the principles which were to guide him in coming to his decision whether the tenancies were to be recorded as Utbandi or not. The history and characteristics of this type of tenancy have already been considered.

When (1) the custom of Utbandi prevails in the part of the country, (2) the land is ordinarily let under that custom, and (3) is for the time being let under that custom, section 180 of the Bengal Tenancy Act has defined as the condition precedent for the accrual of occupancy rights, and by implication for the application of the statutory limitation of rent, the holding of the land in question by the tenant for 12 continuous years. It was never necessary for the Attestation Officer to consider (1) as there was ample authority for holding that the custom of Utbandi prevailed throughout the district. As to (2) paragraph 47E. Correction Slip No. 20 of the Technical Rules, lays down that (a) no land just brought under cultivation within the last 12 years can be said to be land ordinarily let under the custom of Utbandi, (b) a test period of from 12 to 15 years should be taken to arrive at a finding as to whether the field can be said to be "ordinarily let under the custom of Utbandi". The practical application of this rule was defined as follows in the General Order of the settlement; "The test period should ordinarily be the last 15 years, but when there is clear evidence that the land was part of a *jamai* (raiya) holding before that, the test period should be moved further back, provided that no date prior to the passing of the Tenancy Act be taken".

As a matter of fact usually no difficulty was experienced in determining whether or not land was ordinarily let under the custom of Utbandi. The type of temporary lease quoted in paragraph 74 at the foot of page 69 of the Rajshahi Settlement Report was not met with. Tenants had a very clear recollection as to what land at present held as Utbandi used to belong to raiyati holdings and the landlord's agents were usually in a position to compare the statement of the raiyats and freely admitted the instances alleged. The apprehensions entertained before the inception of these operations that the custom was spreading have proved to have been excessive. The record of land as Utbandi not ordinarily so held was highest in Tehatta and Damurhuda police-stations. The largest landlord in that area is Babu Nafar Chandra Pal Chaudhuri who is the stoutest advocate of the system and makes a practice of letting out in Utbandi all holdings sold up for arrears of rent. In the case of land held, but not ordinarily held, under the custom of Utbandi section 20 of the Bengal Tenancy Act applies. In nearly every case the status of "settled raiyat" was recorded, but the incidents as to assessment of rent were recorded as in the case of land ordinarily so held; the method of recording these will be described below.

As land not ordinarily held under the custom of Utbandi was frequently amalgamated with land ordinarily so held, and treated by the landlord as on the same footing, separate *khatians* had to be opened at attestation for the two categories. Where the rates had been enhanced in the case of raiyats, who at the time of such enhancement, were settled raiyats of the village, the old rates had to be restored; where in similar circumstances the measuring rod had been decreased the former length or rent had to be recorded.

(3) "And is for the time being let under that custom" really brings us to the crux of the whole question. As no definition of the custom of Utbandi has been given in the Bengal Tenancy Act, its characteristics had to be collected from authoritative reports and judicial findings.

These were thoroughly examined in 1917 when the question arose in connexion with the diara operations

conducted on the Nadia side of the Padma by the Rajshahi party.

In January of that year the Director of Land Records discussed the matter with a number of representative landlords. As a result of these deliberations and after consultation with the Advocate-General and Legal Remembrancer Correction Slip No. 6 of the Technical Rules was issued, which later was reissued with slight modifications as Correction Slip No. 20.

The two essential features of the system are there laid down to be (a) the fluctuating character of the lands in the "holding" and (b) the measurement or inspection made at least once a year with a view to the assessment of rent.

Paragraph 47A of the correction slip makes it clear that both these features must co-exist before the land can be said to be held under the custom of Utbandi.

In that part of A block in which claims that land was held under the custom of Utbandi were most general, that is, in Kaliganj, Nakashipara and parts of Krishnagar and Nabadwip police-stations, the main difficulty experienced was in applying (a). The land for the most part was unfertile and the landlords did take steps by inspection made each year to assess the rent. The system of leaving land fallow for 3 years after continuous cultivation for a like period was in vogue. It was the practice for tenants to return to their former fields after the period of fallowing. The question then was whether or not the land during the period of fallowing was or was not in the constructive possession of the tenants, even though no rent was paid by them during such period. The practice of re-entry referred to was so firmly established that really there was a good deal to be said for the view that constructive possession lay with the tenants.

The acceptance of such a view involved the consequence that where the lands of a holding including both the fallow and the cultivated land had remained constant for a reasonable length of time "the fluctuating character of the lands in the holding" had been lost, and the land could no longer be said to be held under the custom of Utbandi, even though the rent might

vary each year. Such a holding would be like the *halhashila* tenancies of Malda and Bhagalpur described by various revenue authorities, in reference to which it may be of interest to note that the distinction between *halhashila* and "Utbandi" tenancies was completely ignored in the Bhagalpur settlement and section 180 was applied to tenancies which according to the older authorities should have been governed by the ordinary provisions of the Act relating to settled raiyats.

A reference was made to Government before attestation was started and after detailed inquiries had been made as to the incidents of such holdings, the view I put forward was that the potentiality of part surrender where it existed was inconsistent with the view that such holdings were of definitely fixed limits but that under certain conditions during the period of fallowing the land was in the constructive possession of the tenant and held by them within the meaning of section 180. Government, however, took the view that Nadia was the accepted home of Utbandi and that there was strong authority for holding that land, held under the custom, reverted to the landlords' possession after actual cultivation. The general sense of the instructions issued was to the effect that where the other recognized features of Utbandi were present, the mere fact that the raiyats claimed the right of re-entry on to land at the termination of its period of fallowing and that they did so re-enter automatically without objection or challenge on the part of the landlord, was not of itself sufficient to make the "holding" made up of the land cultivated and fallow for the time being a holding of definitely fixed limits or to rob it of its Utbandi character nor could the period of fallowing without payment of rent properly be counted towards the 12 years' holding of the land by the tenant necessary for the acquisition by them of occupancy rights as laid down in section 180, Bengal Tenancy Act. At the same time Government recognised the possibility of the existence in Nadia of tenancies akin to the *halhashila* tenancies of Malda, but stated that the right of part surrender was not an incident of such tenancies.

A reference covering the same points as were touched on in my letter to Government, was also made on behalf

of some Nadia landlords by the British Indian Association. Government's reply was on the same strain as its reply made in answer to my reference but contained the suggestion that since on the admission of the landlords, the rigidity of the system had been relaxed the landlords should co-operate with the settlement in converting the land held under Utbandi to ordinary raiyati holdings at reasonable rents.

As to (b) "the measurement or inspection made at least once a year with a view to the assessment of rent", it has been stated above that the land was unfertile in the Utbandi areas of A block, and inspection had therefore to be made, as the area cultivated kept changing. There were, however, some areas of greater fertility situated along the river Bhagirathi for which the tenant had to pay rent unless he himself took the initiative and informed the landlord of his intention not to cultivate. Such tenancies formed a very small proportion of the whole, and on the ground that the assessment was modified not on the landlords' inspection but on the tenants' express surrender such land was not recorded as Utbandi in this block.

This type of tenancy and generally the whole question of what constituted annual measurement or inspection, that is, the correct application of (b) assumed much larger proportions in B block. A second reference was accordingly made to Government before attestation of B block was taken up as to the correct application of (b): and the suggestions made by me on that letter were accepted. The suggestions were:—"I propose to recognise as real Utbandi tenancies (a) in which the right of part surrender is conceded" [corresponding with feature (a) of ~~the~~ Technical Rules the right of part surrender being held sufficient to indicate the fluctuating character of the lands in the holding] and (b) which are entered in annual *chittas* based on an older *chitta* framed after a field to field survey and which admit of an annual modifications in the rent demand of the tenant all to the amount of land he intends to retain each year in his jote" [corresponding with feature (b) of the Technical Rules, the measurement or inspection made at least once a year with a view to the assessment of rent, the mere existence

of the mechanism in a reasonably up-to-date form, necessary for the apportionment of rent according to the area cultivated, being held a sufficient substitute for actual measurement or inspection].

It is a happy reflection that disputes as to whether land was actually held under the custom of Utbandi or not in the two later blocks were practically non-existent. Land recorded as nominal Utbandi in blocks B and C and in for the greater proportion of block A had admittedly passed out of the category of Utbandi and though "nominal" Utbandi is included within the scope of Act X of 1923 its inclusion therein was merely *ex abundanti cantelae*.

In the north of A block where the nature of the soil did not permit of continuous cultivation on a big scale and accordingly occupancy rights were sparingly recorded, the tenants resented the entry in the record of Utbandi *khatians* that "land when fallow reverts to the landlords' *khash*," and some landlords holding land on the river strip which had been recorded as nominal Utbandi were dissatisfied because, under the rather more elastic interpretation of the Technical Rules introduced from the beginning of the attestation of B block, some of that land might have been recorded as real Utbandi.

The rules issued by me for the guidance of officers were as follows:— "In practice no holding called Utbandi can be said to have definitely fixed limits, of which part surrender is a freely admitted incident. The second essential of real Utbandi laid down in the Technical Rules, *viz.*, annual measurement or inspection made at least once a year with a view to the assessment of rent, is capable of too rigid an application. In practice we must recognise as real Utbandi, tenancies in which the right of part surrender is conceded if they are entered in annual *chittas* based on an authoritative *chitta* framed after detailed field to field survey (locally known as *ekandaj chitta*) and admit of annual modifications in the rent demand of the tenant according to the amount of land he intends to retain each year in his *jote*. It is evident therefore that mere uniformity of rent paid during a few years is not inconsistent with a continuance of the Utbandi

character of the tenancy, provided that the principle of assessment in vogue, admits of the potentiality of annual change. Nor does the *de facto* payment for land when it is fallow automatically transfer the tenancy from the category of real Utbandi, provided that there is a well recognised avenue open to all raiyats for getting abatement of rent for these particular fallow plots, should they desire it. At the same time in view of the likelihood of legislation, the parties should be encouraged to convert Utbandi land into ordinary *jamai* land. The procedure will be for a petition to be filed with a schedule attached showing the rents agreed on, which will form an integral part of the petition and will be signed by the parties concerned. The Attestation Officer will be acting and giving effect to these compromises under section 109B."

127. Procedure of attestation of Utbandi.—To return to the procedure of an Attestation Officer in a mauza in which the claim was that land was held under the custom of Utbandi. In accordance with the principles defined above he had first to come to a finding whether the custom prevailed or not. In the event of his finding being in the affirmative he had to review the rent history of the mauza as represented in the Kanungos' rent note and either himself adopt that note or as was more usual frame a rent note in the stereotyped form of his own. To this rent note he had constantly to refer in determining the legal rates where occupancy rights were found to have accrued. He made a similar inquiry and recorded in the second part of the rent note the results of his inquiry in respect of ordinary raiyati holdings.

He had then to determine in the way already described what length of measuring rod was used in assessing the Utbandi lands to rent.

Then passing on to the individual *khatians* he had to satisfy himself in respect of each *khatian* (1) what plots, if any, had within recent years formed part of an ordinary raiyati holding, (2) the rates for the different crops and the different kinds of land, (3) special rates for special plots, (4) for which plots rent was being paid continuously as never being fallow, (5) of these, in which plots occupancy rights had already accrued, and in which plots

they had not accrued; in the former case the plot numbers were entered in column 15 as being held in occupancy right and in the latter case the dates upon which the present possessor entered on his possession had to be entered in column 23 of the reverse with a view to the eventual accrual of occupancy rights, (6) where occupancy rights had accrued, (2) and (3) and the legality of the *nal* had to be considered in reference to the question whether or not they had been introduced before or after the accrual of occupancy rights.

Specimens of the final form of the Utbandi *khatian* have been given in the appendix, and are practically reproductions of the attested Utbandi *khatian*. Rent actually paid was not recorded unless the amount by flux of years had really become stable. No purpose would have been served in recording as rent a figure liable to indefinite fluctuation, and since the money realized as rent in any particular year was often composed of both legal and illegal ingredients (as when rates had been illegally enhanced in plots in which occupancy rights had already accrued) the legally payable rent could only have been arrived at after complex calculation.

The legal rates applicable to the land of the *khatian* were entered in the rent columns of the *khatian* with a remark that according to the method described in column 16 the rent is annually assessed. Where there were two rates for the same class of land, which happened when occupancy rights had been acquired in some of the lands of the class and not in others and the rate had since such acquisition been illegally enhanced, or when the same class of land was differently rated in different parts of the mauza the commoner rate was entered in the rent columns and the less common rate was entered on the reverse column of the *khatian* in the remark column against the plots affected. Bamboos and fruit trees were usually assessed at special rates, each tree or bamboo clump, being assessed at the conventional area of one katha or one-fourth of a katha of land. These rates were entered in column 6 where the trees really determined the classification of the land. The classification of *bhiti* or *bagan* on the reverse of the *khatian* showed to which plots these rates were applicable.

But where the trees or bamboos were so isolated that the classification on the reverse showed the land to be ordinary *aus* or *aman*, and occupancy rights had accrued on these plots the entry of the special rates for the trees or bamboos went on the reverse in the remark column of such plots: provided that the rates were in existence when occupancy rights first accrued or any subsequent enhancement had been within the limits of section 29.

In the status column the plot numbers of the plots on which occupancy rights had accrued were noted, with a remark, that the status in regard to the other plots was non-occupancy. Where occupancy rights had accrued in the majority of the plots the procedure was reversed.

To prevent tampering with the record the rates of rent were entered both in English and Bengali and every correction in the plot numbers of the enumeration in the status column was required to be initialled by the Attestation Officer.

In the special incidents column was noted whether or not the land is ordinarily held under the custom of Utbandi, that every year the land measured by such and such a *nal* is assessed to rent at the rates enumerated in the rent column. And that land in which occupancy rights have not accrued reverts on falling fallow to the landlords' possession.

In most *khatians* relating to Utbandi tenancies, some of the land was held in occupancy right and some was not. Where the same status covered all the lands, the record was somewhat simplified.

The entry to the effect that lands on which occupancy rights had not accrued reverted on falling fallow to the landlords' possession was rendered necessary by Government's decision that the tenant could not be held to be in constructive possession of them. But where the practice of re-entry after fallowing by the old tenant obtained, we continued to enter such land in his *khatian*. Not to have done so would have been confusing, since between *khanapuri* and *bujharat* and again between *bujharat* and attestation; some of the land found in cultivating possession by a tenant at a former stage might

have in the meantime fallen fallow and *vice versa*.

Omission to do so would also have rendered conversion (whether amicable during the course of the operations or under subsequent legislative enactment) much more difficult.

The conventional assessment of trees has been mentioned. Another convention was to reckon each hut as a *katha* in area. There were 3 entries applied to a homestead exclusive of orchards or bamboos—*bastu* applied to the area actually covered by the hut, each hut being assessed at a *katha* as mentioned above. The *udbastu* was the courtyard and *dakhal*, *dihi* or *bhiti* was the land immediately adjoining the *udbastu*.

Among other peculiar customs was the practice in some parts, where the land after fallowing required reclamation, of assessing at a nominal fee of 6 pies land which had been ploughed up with a view to cultivation but on which within the agricultural year nothing had actually been sown. This was called *asha* or "Anticipation." In the season following the *asha*, usually only *rabi* crops were grown. When this was so, half rates were charged, called *kicha* or *pochan*. The full *nal* rate was charged when rice was first grown. *Asha* and *kicha* or *pochan* were only in vogue in *uthit patit* areas, that is, in areas where the land required regular periods of fallowing. The tendency among such landlords as sought to turn the Utbandi system to their own advantage, was to abolish these preferential rates.

The multiplicity of rates was really a great nuisance less from the necessity of having to record them all as from the tedious scrutiny into their legality which they involved. That the legal restrictions on the enhancement of rent contained in section 29 of the Bengal Tenancy Act would apply to land held under the custom of Utbandi in which occupancy rights have accrued is not only implied in the words of section 180 itself ("until he acquires a right of occupancy in the land, he shall be liable to pay such rent for his holding as may be agreed on between him and his landlord" can only mean that when such a right has been acquired the rent is not a matter of free bargain between the parties) but a High Court decision relating to Utbandi lands in Nadia in an unreported case to the same effect was

produced in the course of the operations. In fact this application of the law was never so far as I am aware disputed during the settlement proceedings.

To help him to pick out the plots in which occupancy rights had accrued or plots in which in accordance with the above rules, dates of first entering into possession had to be recorded the Attestation Officer had before him on the record the marks made by the *bujharat* kanungo against plots capable of continuous cultivation. Before taking up attestation, he had the "old fallow" plots picked out from the *khasra* and marked in pencil in the record by one of his staff. The accrual of occupancy rights in old fallow plots would naturally need explanation, and the Mohurrirs' mark was designed to attract the officer's attention on the event of such a clause being made. Landlords' agents were also required to have ready comparative statements showing the correspondence between their *chitta* plot numbers and the cadastral numbers.

By these means, though the attestation unit in Utbandi areas was really the plot and not the *khatian*, progress was possible. The manual labour of the Attestation Officer was reduced to a minimum by the free use of seals for the entries of constantly recurring incidents.

The existence of difficulties of attestation in the Utbandi areas was recognized by the department and the settlement had at its disposal a very experienced and capable attestation staff. The best men were put into the Utbandi area. Whereas the season's outturn of attestation per circle in the non-Utbandi areas reached 22,000 or 23,000 interests without much difficulty, the average size of a circle in which Utbandi was prevalent was kept down to 10,000-13,000 interests.

In A block the contest centred round the question whether occupancy rights had accrued in specific plots or not: and as to whether the holdings had fixed limits or not. In many cases tenants claimed that the right of piecemeal surrender did not exist and that the plots comprising both cultivated and fallow made up holdings of definitely fixed limits. As stated above, Government did not rule out the possibility of the existence of holdings in Nadia akin to the *halhashila* holdings of Malda. Very

stringent tests which will be given below were applied to such claims, which were eventually held to have been established in the case of a few isolated mauzas in Kaliganj and Nakashipara police-station.

In B block, the landlords did not contend so fiercely against the record of occupancy rights in specific plots and the tenants did not claim Utbandi land as holdings of definitely fixed limits. The main trouble in preparing the record here was due to the multiplicity of rates and the necessary scrutiny into their legality.

In C block Utbandi formed a big item in Karimpur police-station only where the conditions approximated to those obtaining in B block rather than in A block.

There were minor complications in the record arising for instance when, of two co-sharer landlords, one let out the land as an ordinary raiyati holding and the other retained it as Utbandi. But such cases were not of frequent occurrence and need not be dealt with in this report. The general incidence of Utbandi and the way it reacted in different parts of the district, on the landlord and tenant respectively and on their relations with each other have already been dealt with in the appropriate part of the report.

128. Conversion of Utbandi at attestation.—It was Government's hope that landlords and tenants would seize the opportunity of the advent of settlement to conclude an amicable conversion of Utbandi land into ordinary holdings. The attitude of the landlords as a whole would have inclined more readily towards this proposal but for the lead given them by one or two landlords who saw in the continued existence of the custom of Utbandi unfathomed possibilities of future aggrandisement and in its disappearance the disappearance of their most cherished privilege. As usually happens in this country, both pace and direction were set by the extremists. Efforts at conversion in the first two blocks must be set down as a failure. The settlement staff had to remain more or less neutral. And perhaps in the Utbandi areas of A block of Kaliganj and Nakashipara, the Utbandi custom suited local conditions. In B block which was more fertile some conversions were effected mostly in Tehatta police-station. The Utbandi

area of B block was the stronghold of some of its most determined champions among the landlords, and there never was much chance of large scale conversion there. In C block in Karimpur and Gangni police-stations quite a lot of conversion was done. No statistics were kept. The reason for this change of attitude on the part of the landlords it is not easy to explain. It may be that landlords had come to realize that legislation was inevitable, or it may be that in that part the landlords were rather outside the sphere of influence of the keenest champions of Utbandi. The factor which contributed most to conversion in these parts was, however, probably the fact that there conversion was no new thing. On the break-up of the indigo factories a great deal of Utbandi land was converted into raiyati holdings and the process had not become exhausted. There would possibly have been an even greater eagerness for conversion had previous conversions been uniformly successful. But in some cases the conversion had been made at too high a figure with the result that the raiyati holdings so formed showed a tendency to lapse back into Utbandi.

The method of conversion favoured by us was for an average of the landlord's realized assets over a period of seven or ten years to be struck and a rate per bigha worked out. The tenants' rents were fixed with reference to that rate after a slight adjustment of land between tenants wanting less and tenant wanting more. *Salami* was never paid.

129. Nominal Utbandi identification and record.—Lands which locally passed under the name of Utbandi, but were found to be lacking in the essential features of that custom fall roughly into three categories which for the sake of record I reproduce here—

(1) Land simply called Utbandi but which differed in no way in its incidents from ordinary raiyati holdings both the rent and the limits being definitely fixed. When raiyati interests were not created under any instrument, there was a practice in some parts of the district to regard the raiyats as tenants-at-will in complete contravention of the provisions of section 20 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. These tenancies were called Utbandi, though it must be said that eviction, shifting or illegal enhancement of rent were not practised in regard to them to any great extent. The vast proportion

of land recorded as nominal Utbandi falls under this category, which is prevalent in Ranaghat Subdivision and in Hanskhali and Krishnaganj police-stations of Sadar Subdivision, and generally in the police-stations bordering Jessore. These were recorded in the same way as ordinary raiyati holdings except that in column 13 was written "*nammatra* Utbandi" and on the incidents column, a remark to the effect that section 180 did not apply.

(2) (a) Tenancies which are rather looser units than (1) but in respect of which the landlords had definitely ceased to ascertain the amount of land under cultivation and (in B and C blocks) had abandoned the necessary mechanism for so doing. These were tenancies in short in respect of which, though in theory capable of part surrender, the landlord by not maintaining in working order the machinery for ascertaining the land annually under cultivation must be inferred to have definitely ceased so to ascertain it. This type was to be recorded as (1) above except that if rates were better understood than lump rentals, the rates were to be added. In block A this class (2) was defined as "land for which a raiyat is liable to pay rent whether fallow or cultivated, continuously until specifically surrendered" but as explained above the definition was modified in the two later blocks. In only two or three cases in blocks B and C was this kind of tenancy found. In A block under the stricter rules then in force along the side of the Bhagirathi there were a fair number of cases, though the proportion was small in comparison either with the amount of land classified as real Utbandi or as nominal Utbandi of type (1) above.

(b) Pure *Biruwari* tenancies: these were tenancies whose rentals depended on the crops grown each year and inspection of whose land was directed exclusively to that end. The limits were definitely fixed and part surrender not recognized. There were in fact a few tenancies of this kind found in Alamdanga and Mirpur police-stations. The method of record but a lump rental in the rent column but the rates were noted and in the remark column a note to the effect that the rents vary according to the specified rates for the different crops.

(3) This corresponds to the *halhas-hila* tenancy of Malda. It was recorded only in block A and there in a few mauzas only; the criterion was not the

individual tenants' holding but all the lands under the particular landlord within the mauza, for the customary incidents of each such tenancy could only be ascertained by reference to the general treatment by the landlord of all the land within the mauza regarded by him as being on the same footing. This type was referred to land which, being a definitely fixed holding, is not Utbandi though the rent for the whole varies with the amount cultivated annually. Great care must be taken to determine that the lands are actually a holding of definitely fixed limits.

The type of Utbandi holding prevailing under a particular landlord within the mauza must combine all the following characteristics before the Attestation Officer can find that the holdings are definitely fixed.

(1) The land of the holding must really cohere, *i.e.*, part surrender or part abandonment of the holdings is unknown in the mauza and not claimed by the raiyat.

(2) The lands of the holding descend *en block* by succession.

(3) Changing of limits of holdings by addition is extremely rare.

(4) Changing of limits of holdings by part transfer is extremely rare.

(5) All exercise of acts of possession by the landlord during fallowing periods is unknown, *i.e.*, collection of *ghaskar*, sowing of *rabi* crops, superimposition of new raiyats over old raiyats' head.

(6) There is no exaction of *salami* on re-entering the land. Only when all the above conditions concur can such tenancies be said to have become definitely fixed holdings.

The method of record of these tenancies was the same as the record of Utbandi tenancies with the necessary substitution of settled or non-occupancy in the status column in place of occupancy and non-occupancy, of "*nammatra* Utbandi" for Utbandi and the omission of the remark that the land when fallow reverts to the landlord.

130. Ordinary raiyatis.—As regards the record of interests which had no connexion with the custom of Utbandi, the procedure has now become stereotyped and requires no description.

Where the raiyati or an under-raiyati interest occurred in two or more mauzas of the same circle, the *khatians* of the different mauzas relating to the same

interest were always attested together. The subordinate under-raiyats' *khatians* were attested immediately before the superior raiyats' *khatian*.

The provisions of section 50 were explained to the tenants who were not slow to take advantage of them. The general absence of coparcenery and the existence on a large scale of tenancies whose rental had remained undisturbed for many years accounts for the large proportion of raiyati holdings recorded as *mukarari* in the non-Utbandi areas of the district, i.e., Ranaghat, Chakdaha, Haringhata, Hanskhali, Krishnaganj, Jibannagar, Damurhuda (part), Chua-danga (part), Alamdanga, Kushtea, Mirpur, Kumarkhali and Khoksa.

The percentage would have been higher but for the prevalence of fires in the district in the hot weather, whereby old rent receipts were burnt, and on the Kumarkhali side by the relatively greater degree of coparcenery. Obviously where uniformity of rent has to be proved and separate rent receipts are granted each year by a number of coparceneries there is less chance of a complete set of rent receipts being provided for any year going back 20 years than when there is only one rent receipt for each year.

The vast majority of the *mukarari* holdings were so by operation of law. Mr. Barker of Nischindipur, the predecessor in interest of the Midnapore Zemindari Company, had granted *mourashi pattas* on a large scale. A certain amount of discrepancy occurred in the record of holdings or other interests locally called *mourashi*. The term in its popular local significance undoubtedly imparts the notion both of transferability, free right to cut trees, dig tanks, construct masonry buildings and also of fixity of rent. But the last incident is not usually expressly contained in the instruments creating the tenancies. Some officers were put off by the stipulation, when it occurred, that additional rent would be payable for increase of area forgetting that this is a condition attaching under section 50 of the Bengal Tenancy Act to all permanent interests and that the true construction of the instrument might be that additional rent would be payable only for increase of area. The proper decision would depend on the true construction of the terms of the instrument in each case. And the matter had to be

left on that understanding to the discretion of the attestation officers. These *mourashi* leases were granted to tenure-holders and raiyats alike, and did not indicate in the least that the grantor's interest was that of a middleman. Another local term whose use was equivocal was *bemyadi* which might or might not imply permanence of rent as well as of interest. Usually by itself it implied only permanence of interest given in the Ranaghat subdivision where its use was most prevalent, it was contrasted with *myadi*, an ordinary raiyati interest which was, in direct contravention to the Law, supposed to be terminable either on a certain date or at the option of the landlord.

A good many problems arose in connexion with the application of section 50 and the admissibility of papers to rebut the presumption. These need not, however, be discussed here.

It may be mentioned, however, that the mere omission of a present holding from an old *jamabandi* or the mere fact that a *jamabandi* was made in the village and enhancement followed upon it were not by themselves held to be sufficient evidence to rebut the presumption, in the case of individual tenancies.

A large proportion of the objections were with the record of *mukarari* on the part of both landlord and tenant. In the mean time either the landlords had discovered old materials or the tenants old rent receipts.

In block A illegal enhancements of rent of raiyati holdings were uncommon. In block B they were more common particularly in the Utbandi area on the part of the successors-in-interest to the old indigo concerns. The reason is I suppose that the interests leased out to the indigo planters were created at competitive rentals: when indigo declined the tenants' rents had to be squeezed up in order to make the possession of the superior interests paying propositions. Both in B and C blocks the principal landlords in effect after having had their rents reduced in one or two mauzas declined to produce papers. In B block reductions were made in some cases on data contained on the raiyats' receipts, but in C block, the tenants of the Midnapore Zemindari Company were frightened to produce the data they had. The details and methods of rent enhancements together

with the occasional claims to justify such under provisos II and III of section 29 have already been described in the chapter dealing with the relations of landlords and tenants. There would have been more cases of illegal rents had the limits of holdings not undergone frequent change on the occasion of successive *jamabandis* by the addition and subtraction of land. We came across one or two cases in which the landlord in order to preserve an appearance of legality had got inserted in the tenants' *kabuliats* a statement that the *kabuliat* covered additional land which was quite fictitious, in mauzas situated many miles away.

In the non-Utbandi areas the question of status frequently arose. These are areas characterized by the prevalence of large holdings extensively underlet. Most of these holdings belonged to persons of the cultivating class, themselves in cultivating possession of part. The inference is that landlords in making settlement preferred to do so with a few influential tenants for easier realization of rent. But there was seldom documentary evidence forthcoming to throw light on the purpose governing the original creation of the tenancies. Most of them were recorded as "Raiyati."

131. Under-raiyats and Miscellaneous.—The existence in the non-Utbandi areas of these large raiyati holdings led as a matter of course to the multiplication of under-raiyats. In this connexion a useful ruling of Mr. Justice Huda reported in 42 I. C. (Lahore) was relied on, enlarging the limits of the applicability of section 48, which the language used in 16 C. W. N. 857, seemed rather unnecessarily to restrict to cases where the raiyati and under-raiyati holdings were exactly co-extensive. If the rent of an under-raiyati holding co-extensive with a raiyati holding is illegal, when it exceeds the rent of the latter by the percentages specified in section 48, Bengal Tenancy Act, it follows a fortiori that it is illegal when the under-raiyati holdings forms but part of the raiyati holdings. This was the sense of Mr. Justice Huda's ruling referred to above and its application in the reduction of a good many under-raiyati rents. We had the authority of Hari Mohan *versus* Atul Krishna, 19 C. W. N. 1127, for holding that assignment by sublease is included

in "transfer" in section 18, Bengal Tenancy Act. In cases, therefore, where *mukarari* raiyats had created by registered instrument tenancies purporting to be permanent in point of time and rental, we recorded on the *khatian* of such tenancies in the incident column *mukarari*; and where the permanence was of time only and did not involve the rent we recorded *chirasthaye*. Where the superior raiyati interest was not *mukarari*, but the raiyat purported to have created under-raiyati interests of the aforesaid status we recorded a note in the incident column to the effect that the raiyat and his successors in interest were estopped from challenging the incidents of the under-raiyati, contained, in the instrument creating it. Under-raiyats acquired interest of this permanent or pseudo permanent character only on the payment of heavy *salami*. Such interests were commonest in the Ranaghat and Kushtia subdivisions.

Throughout the district we found the idea firmly established that once a structure had been created on under-raiyati land, the under-raiyat was immune from eviction. Under-raiyats were also supposed to have permanent rights in gardens planted by themselves. We recorded them as having occupancy rights in their homestead land giving homestead a liberal interpretation so as to include *palan* or *bhiti* land contiguous to the homestead and really forming part of it, and also gardens planted by the under-raiyats themselves. For obvious reasons this procedure was not applied within the urban part of municipalities. In C block on the instructions of the Director of Land Records occupancy rights were recorded as attaching to the whole under-raiyati holding when any part of it contained a homestead. A feature of the district was the large number of homesteads, sometimes permanent masonry structures which were standing on land held in under-raiyati right.

Raiyats frequently spoke of such of their under-raiyats as did not hold under any instrument as "Utbandi", but such appellation did not necessarily have any special significance. In some cases, however, raiyats varied their rent demand on the under-raiyats according to the crop grown. In such cases we recorded rates as well as rent.

Some complexity of record arose in connection with the practice of indigo

planters already described, of taking up indigo cultivation by their own tenants in compact blocks of land forming parts of many different raiyati holdings. When the identity of the pieces of land in such a block with the holdings of which they originally formed part could not be established, the best we could do was to open on the analogy of a "bhil" *khatian* described in paragraph 25, page 26 of the Technical Rules an omnibus *khatian* for all the raiyats whose land was taken into the block, and under this *khatian* the under-raiyats at present in possession of the lands were recorded in the ordinary way. For of course on the cultivation of indigo within the block the *ails* demarcating the lands of the different raiyati holdings were entirely obliterated.

The attestation programme with the number of circles in each block was as follows:—

	Interests.	Circles.
A Block	399,788	20
B ..	327,074	18
C ..	378,655	22

but in neither A nor B blocks was the full complement of officers available throughout the season. This gives an average of 19,989 interests per circle in A block, 18,170 in B block, 17,211 in C block and for the whole operations an average of 18,425 interests per Attestation Officer. As there was a good deal of Utbandi in all the blocks but particularly in blocks A and B the programme was sufficiently heavy. In A and B blocks the programme was finished in sufficient time to enable the objection and final *janch* stages to move on smoothly and without interruption to completion all before the pujahs. Only in Krishnagar town in A block attestation was postponed for six weeks on the representation by the Maharaja of Nadia's agents that some hundreds of his holdings had been omitted from the record. Our records were left open to enable the parties to take full notes and the agents were asked to file a list of the omitted holdings. It transpired that the alarm was a false, or at least exaggerated, one due to defective comparison of the *parchas* with the estate papers. Some holdings undoubtedly were lost but nothing like the sensational figures alleged. Holdings have been passing down from one generation to another without any mutation and for

the Maharaja to locate all his holdings for which he receives rent is now an impossibility. In any case the postponement of attestation delayed draft publication, and the objection programme there could only be finished by the officers working simultaneously at the end of the season.

In C block owing to the reduction at the end of March of the number of attestation circles to 13, 6 of the Attestation Officers were occupied until the third week of July.

132. **Attestation janch.**—Attestation *janch* is interesting from the statistical point of view, for at this stage the statistical work was practically completed.

There were eight stages in the *janch* —

1. Rearrangement of *khatians*.
2. Preparation of *shabek hal* list (comparative list giving the numbers of the *khatians* before and after rearrangement of the record).
3. Preparation and totalling of the plot index.
4. Writing up the *janch* form and columns 17, 18 and filling up of the arrear columns of the *khatians*.
5. Passing of the *janch* form area against the plot index.
6. General scrutiny of the record.
7. Tamilling of disputes and entering new *khatian* numbers in the *barat* register and correction of northern boundaries, *khatian* by *khatian*. Comparison of sublet area of each *khatian* with sublet area as shown in *janch* form.
8. Preparation of forms 105 and 107 and the tenure tree. In the *janch* form each estate within the mauza was dealt with separately and the form showed the *khatian* numbers, area in direct possession, area sublet and rent of every interest in the estate arranged according to status. All the materials necessary for the completion of statistical return 105 including the elaboration of that form rendered necessary by the extra statistics called for in regard to Utbandi were thus contained in the completed *janch* form. When the *janch* was completed, therefore form 105 and form 107 (mauzawar form showing the estates occurring in each mauza and their area), a tenure tree showing recurring interests only and D registers, as finally revised by the Attestation Officer, were

sent up to the Statistical Branch. These were scrutinized. If formally correct, the entries in form 105 were copied into a register kept "P.S.-war" and were totalled at the end of the season. Modifications introduced as a result of objections were reported to this branch and embodied in the register.

The total of the village as shown in form 107 was compared with the *bujharat* total of the mauza as shown in the draft jurisdiction lists kept in the Statistical Branch, and Attestation Officers were directed to note in the form the reasons of any discrepancies between the *bujharat* total and the attested total of the mauza. Where such discrepancies were found and no explanation accompanied the form, it was returned to the Attestation Officer.

Through its scrutiny of the tenure trees the Statistical Branch exercised a general supervision over the record by the Attestation Officers of recurring interests. Before despatching form 107 to the S.T.T. Branch the Attestation Officer compared the entries shown thereon with the relevant entries in the *Thak* Register and with the Mahalwar Register and in the case of non-recurring estates which were missing from the record of the mauza in which the Mahalwar Register showed them to have land, the Attestation Officer held a special inquiry after summoning the registered proprietors. He had then to submit a special report stating (1) whether revenue is still being paid for the missing estate, (2) the chak numbers shown in the *thak* as belonging to the estate, (3) any other information. These reports were supplemented by a general check at the close of each season conducted by a Kanungo in the Statistical Branch, of the estates shown in the Collector's register as occurring in each block against the estates recorded.

In the result no land was recorded under following estates:—

List of missing estates.

No. of the estate.	Reasons.
779	Dispossessed.
869	Diluviated.
872	Ditto.
1567	Dispossessed.
1926	Ditto.
1939	Ditto.
2104	Diluviated.

No. of the estate.	Reasons.
2525	Diluviated.
2526	Dispossessed.
2527	Ditto.
2529	Ditto.
2530	Ditto.
2845	Diluviated.
2945	Ditto.
2948	Dispossessed.
2951	Ditto.
3115	Ditto.
3141	Ditto.
3563	Ditto.
3627	Ditto.
3567	Ditto.

We identified the land of one or two estates which the Collector had purchased in auctions held under the sunset law and the land of which he had been unable to find.

In order to facilitate the identification of estates which had entirely disappeared on dispossession by another estate, we recorded in the remark column of the plots, which the *thak* showed to belong to the dispossessed estates, a note to the effect that according to the *thak* the plots fall within the ambit of the dispossessed estate. This of course was only done where the relay of the *thak* was satisfactory.

Draft publication was not allowed to start until the abovementioned papers had been submitted to the head office. It was concluded on the passing by the branch of the papers so submitted provided as was always the case, that the statutory month had elapsed. Usually the passing of the papers submitted was delayed for the receipt from the recording officers of the tenure tree of the estates and interests for the correct record of which each was responsible. On receipt of this S.T.T. Branch made the necessary corrections if any in the tenure tree of the other mauzas affected and returned them to the circles for embodying the corrections in the record. The new numbers of the *barati khatians* after rearrangement of the record always involved some change in the *bujharat* record.

It usually happened that draft publication was prolonged beyond the month. In big mauzas special orders were passed enlarging the period of draft publication to enable the parties to scrutinize the record.

133. Objections.—Objection constituted a necessary but not a particularly interesting stage of the work. All questions of principle had arisen and been decided long before. In block A there were 19,234 objections, in block B 15,194, and block C 13,797. The details are:—

were found in block A. The large numbers of objections in block A regarding status in Utbandi land is due to the fact already noted that in that block landlords were more disposed to dispute the record of occupancy rights in land held under the custom of Utbandi.

	Relating to possession and shares.	Rent.	Mukarari.	Rent free.	Utbandi.	Nal.	Others.
Block A	4,797	1,800	4,928	2,959	3,022	525	1,203
„ B	3,851	2,571	5,663	262	1,769	126	952
„ C	4,189	1,331	7,400	109	129	10	629
Total	12,837	5,702	17,991	3,330	4,920	661	2,784

Of the 19,234 objections in block A, in 6,018 cases the decision involved a modification of the attested record. Of the 15,194 objections in block B modification was made in 5,964 cases, and of the 13,797 objections in block C modification was made in 5,243 cases.

The large proportion of objections relating to the record of *mukarari* will be noted and has already been commented on. It comes to 37 per cent. of the whole. The decrease in the number of *nal* disputes in B block as compared with A block is apparent only. The reason is that in the later blocks one objection was allowed to be filed covering all the *khatians* in the mauza affected by the entries objected to where the issue was really the same. This was allowed in A block also but the concession was not generally known or acted on throughout that block. These mauza *nal* disputes, though they counted as one objection in the statistics of work done, were often very intricate affecting the bulk of the *khatians*. In C block, the number of such disputes diminished with the diminishing prevalence of Utbandi. The large number of objections filed against the record of rent-free in A block is due to the multiplicity of rent-free tenures occurring in that block. That has already been commented on. Out of 50,147 rent-free tenures recorded as such in the present operations in Nadia district. 27,139

For convenience of comparison with other settlements, the objection analysis may be stated thus:—

Incidence per square mile ..	18
	Per cent.
Possession and share ..	27
Rent	12
Mukarari	37
Rent-free title	7
Utbandi status	10
Nal	1
Others	6
	100

134. Final janch.—Owing to the complexity of the record particularly in the Utbandi areas final *janch* was an important stage of the work in Nadia. It is always the most convenient arrangement, where that is possible, to have as many final *janch* camps as there are objection officers. This saves the double work of “challaning” the records and files of connected papers from the Attestation Officer to the objection officer and then from the objection officer to the final *janch* camp. It also permits final *janch* to proceed independently of objections, and subject only to a subsequent check of the incorporation of the objection orders in the record (tamilling). Owing, however, to lack of suitable accommodation in A and C blocks this was not possible. In A block four big *janch* camps served the

whole area and in C block final *janch* was started with three camps which were afterwards increased to five. In B block only was it possible to find accommodation for seven *janch* camps, and thus achieve a practical approximation to the ideal.

In C block owing to the inconvenient transfer in March of a number of Attestation Officers and under the apprehension that the supply of records to the press would fail, some officers were started in January on objections of neighbouring circles simultaneously with the prosecution of their own attestation. Though the strike of the press fortunately came at a time to cause the least dislocation of work and removed all apprehensions on the score of failure of the supply of records, the early start of objections enabled the final *janch* camps to open in good time. Though the completion of attestation was delayed, final *janch* could be finished simultaneously with objections well before the holidays.

In immediate supervising control of the *janch* camps was a senior Kanungo working under the direction of the objection officer and when there was no objection officer the senior Kanungo was always a Revenue Officer.

The work was divided into seven stages and a certificate passed with the records through each stage signed by the officer or Mohurrir who had completed it. No record was received into the record room unaccompanied by a completed certificate of this sort.

The first stage comprised the usual inspection of the map and the check plot by plot of the plots on the map against the plot index, a check of the northern boundary entry in the *khatian* against the register of plots, of which possession at attestation had changed and the list of map corrections at *bujharat* and attestation against the map itself. The importance of embracing at this stage a plot by plot comparison between the map and the plot index and the map and the map correction lists was amply demonstrated. Several cases of unnumbered plots or obvious mistakes in area made by the Kanungo at *bujharat* came to light which could only be corrected after local inquiry. The visual comparison done in the Drawing Section can be no substitute for this.

The second stage was the preparation of the vandyke memorandum which in C block was modified to serve as the demand schedules and Demand Register for Computation and Recovery.

The third stage consisted in the tamil by a Kanungo of disputes, rent schedules, orders under section 103A, under section 109C and on miscellaneous petitions and in boundary disputes.

The fourth stage consisted in the complete checking of the parts of the record relating to Utbandi by a selected Mohurrir versed in Utbandi records. The elaborate Utbandi record gave great scope for slips. The detailed instructions issued for this stage need not be enumerated here.

The fifth stage is the ordinary *janch* of the mauza in accordance with the Technical Rules of the department.

The sixth stage is the check of areas by the Kanungo. The rule was "It will ordinarily be sufficient if the Kanungo checks the agreement of the grand totals and a few items to satisfy himself that the area *janch* has been correctly done, but if he or the officer in charge is not so satisfied or the changes in areas have been numerous since attestation, the record must be made over to a Mohurrir for a complete re-check of the areas".

The last stage was the check of all the files by the officer in charge and an inspection by him of the mauza certificate to verify that all the stages had been completed. He then affixed his own signature to the certificate.

Junior Kanungos were made to check the sheets after the mohurrirs had dealt with them, while the senior Kanungos invariably checked a certain number of records to ascertain how far the mohurrirs were working according to rules.

The officer in charge had himself to sign the final certificate (stage 7) and to pass all mistakes found in Utbandi *khatians* except a few types of mistakes of a formal nature as specified in the *janch* orders. The senior Kanungo was competent to pass other mistakes.

135. Printing.—Started at the beginning of August 1920, i.e., nearly two years after the commencement of the operations, 4 presses were at first employed, a fifth being added in September. The largest number of presses in work

at one time was 24, but it was found difficult to maintain satisfactory supervision of more than 18. At the beginning of 1922 serious difficulties were encountered with the compositors staff. Most of them had been trained by the settlement and had not sufficient education to earn equivalent wages elsewhere, but they were aggrieved by some of the rules regarding fines for inaccurate work and took the unjustifiable step of a lightning strike without adequate notice. Fortunately the work was ahead of programme, indeed they had selected a time at which some difficulty was being felt in keeping the presses fed with records. The press was closed for practically two months but we had to pay the staff on fixed wages. A small committee on which the compositors were represented went into the question of improving the prospects of the latter and their genuine grievances were redressed. The ringleaders were dismissed, former compositors who had not taken a leading part were re-admitted.

Owing to the numerous and lengthy entries in the remarks columns of Utbandi *khatians*, the work involved in printing the records of different mauzas was very uneven and it was also difficult to devise a system of calculating work done and remuneration due which was at once fair and yet capable of adequate check. For this reason we could not follow the ordinary system which is now standardised for settlements in normal areas.

136. Checking and binding.—The final stages of checking the printed record, of arranging and sorting the printed sheets and finally binding the *khatians* in volumes are extremely tedious, but not unimportant work. Not, until the finished volume is on the shelf, is, the possibility of some error creeping in, past. It is annoying to find on consulting the plot index and then the *khatian* in which according to the former a particular plot should be found, that it is not there. It is equally annoying to find a volume bound with so small a margin that the plot numbers are hidden away in the stitching and cannot be read without breaking the back of the volume. Both defects may mar a record which has safely passed through all the earlier stages.

The last stage of all, namely, handing over the finished article to the Collector, Subdivisional Officers and Munsiffs was

unfortunately long delayed in Nadia. We learnt by experience that it takes anything up to four years to get proposals for the necessary accommodation put up, to get them "administratively approved", money sanctioned and the work completed. It is true that the parties get their copies at the time of recovery but little administrative use is made of the record until it is within the record room of the particular officer who may wish to consult it. Extra copies can of course be purchased from the settlement office, before the sale copies can be sent to the collectorate, but when two or more district settlements are run from one headquarters, purchasers are put to considerable inconvenience and sales are restricted. Steps to secure accommodation should be taken as soon as, if not before, the operations start. Otherwise the former will not be ready when the latter are concluded.

137. Drawing office.—The ordinary, routine work is pretty well standardised. The chief change made was that of depicting on the map the symbols of the various topographical features from reference to the *khasra* instead of having them drawn in the field and inked up later. This was a decided improvement as it saved time and labour in the field and kept the map more clean. Except for a few days of anxiety we had little trouble in maintaining a flow of sheets for the recovery camps. This calls for careful co-ordination by the Technical Adviser and the headquarters Assistant Settlement Officer of the work of these two branches and the press. There was a good deal of miscellaneous and rather intricate work in connection with diara. For the guidance of future settlements one of our mistakes may be mentioned. We took a later instead of the earliest revenue survey map for the basis of resumption proceedings along a short stretch of one of the rivers. This was perhaps excusable as there had been no less than three revenue surveys in that particular area. Fortunately it was discovered before the proceedings had gone very far. But it is as well to have the record rooms of both districts involved thoroughly well searched for maps of different years and of course the Director of Surveys and Survey of India's volumes for other maps still earlier.

We were very fortunate in our Technical Advisers and one or two draftsmen who were really excellent craftsmen.

A piece of special work done by this branch was the demarcation by means of large stone pillars of the district boundary between Burdwan and Nadia, where that leaves the line of the Bhagirathi. The boundary had long been a matter of doubt and confusion and the original notification was not free from ambiguity. In determining the boundary we followed present possession and used the new jurisdiction lists as a basis.

138. **Case work.**—The commencement of case work was delayed partly on account of the heavy cuts which had to be made in budgeted expenditure and partly with a view to include within the operations the new Utbandi Act which was expected. The number of cases filed was fairly heavy. Under section 105, Bengal Tenancy Act, in respect of 43,375 tenancies, under section 106, Bengal Tenancy Act, 3,258 cases. The Meherpur and Chuadanga camps had some difficulties in coping with the enormous number of cases filed by the Nischindipur concern of the Midnapore Zemindari Company. In some 3,000 cases the main issue and documents involved were the same and the company wished to withdraw exhibits in one case and file them in another before the first case was finished or, in the alternative, to take copies by order of the court free of cost. This could not be allowed, but comprehensive grouping of cases was done as far as possible to save both parties expense and trouble. The main point in issue in these cases was whether the landlord could base his claim for enhancement on a sum which was made up, partly of admittedly true rent and partly of a sum described as *makuf* or temporary abatement. The question was complicated by the fact that the abatement was alleged to have been allowed in consideration of the tenants growing indigo. But the landlords failed to prove this mainly because though the arrangement was made very many years ago, the amounts shown as abatement had never been actually collected even after the cultivation of the special crop ceased.

Another question of general interest arose in these groups of cases. This was the admissibility as an issue under section 105 A of the correctness of the entry recording the existing rent. The only clause which might give an officer jurisdiction to deal with the point is section 105 A, clause (f) by which he can test

the accuracy of the special condition and incidents recorded. But does this phrase include rent? On the analogy of section 102, apparently it would not, since rent is specifically mentioned in a separate clause in addition to "Special conditions and incidents." On the other hand section 105 A was drafted with reference to section 106 and not to section 102 and in section 106 the scope of the section is indicated in the widest terms. It is therefore arguable that the words "special incidents" would include rent. Moreover, the reason that the amount of rent payable is not specifically referred to in section 105 A may be due to the fact that it was considered an essential preliminary to the fixing of a fair rent. At any rate it seems highly improbable that the framers of the Act deliberately wished to shut this out from enquiry or if they had, they would not have left it ambiguous. The matter has been made clear by an amendment in the Draft Tenancy Act Bill where a new clause is added to section 105 A as follows: "whether the existing rent has been correctly recorded in the record of rights". We took it that this merely made a doubtful point clear and was not intended as an expression of opinion that the present section precluded the raising of the issue. The departmental view was also apparently in favour of its admissibility (*vide* Technical Rules, page 101 (4) (2) K] and finally practically all our cases were decided accordingly.

There was doubt among some case work officers as to the propriety of granting *mukarari* status to raiyats whose rents had been illegally enhanced. Some officers following the practice of the earlier settlements argued that the enhancement being illegal, no part of it could be described as rent, inasmuch as it was not an amount legally payable, they therefore held that there had been no variation in rent strictly defined as such, cut the enhancement down and recorded the status of the tenant as *mukarari*. This is a neat device for making the punishment fit the crime and is possibly justified by the letter of the law, but it involves a deduction which stultifies the meaning of section 50. If a landlord abstains sufficiently long from enhancement, it is presumed from the conduct of the parties that the rent is not variable. If the tenant pays an enhancement, within legal limits, the conduct of the parties is a denial of the right to hold at a fixed rent. *A fortiori*

if the tenant agrees to pay an enhancement beyond the legal limits, the presumption against fixity of rent is still stronger.

Another perplexing question was whether the Indian Limitation Act applied to the substitution of heirs in section 105 cases. The Special Judge caused some alarm by deciding in one case that the Limitation Act did apply. Had this view been upheld it would have had serious consequences. In most of the cases the two months' time allowed for the institution of section 105 cases would be quite inadequate for the landlord to make enquiries about (a) the deaths of recorded tenants and the names of their heirs and (b) the omission of co-sharers, particularly *pardanashins* whose names should have been recorded but were left out. The cases would have failed for failure to include the necessary parties. Fortunately the decision in XLIII C.L.J. 591, Maharaja Sir Bikram Kishore Manikya Bahadur *versus* Ambica Charan Dutt Mazumdar set doubt at rest. It was held that the Limitation Act did not apply to substitution of heirs in applications under section 105.

The financial effect of section 105 cases was as follows: Tenure-holders original rents increased from Rs. 23,188 to Rs. 25,903 or 11·7 per cent. Raiyats' original rents increased from Rs. 2,06,612 to Rs. 2,40,918 or 17 per cent.; of the latter about one-third has been additional rent for excess land and the balance is an enhancement on rising prices and other grounds.

Three thousand two hundred and fifty-eight cases were filed under section 106 to contest the accuracy of the record, of these in 2,414 cases the original record was upheld, in 821 it was modified. There have been 157 appeals to the Special Judge; in these cases, of which 69 have been decided, in 63 the case work officers' finding has been upheld, and in 6 only has it been modified.

Four hundred and nineteen cases were filed under section 108 A for correction of mistakes found in the record after final publication.

Revision of rents, revenue and resumption proceedings.

The total increase in the annual revenue as a result of the settlement's work in revising existing settlements and bringing under assessment fresh

areas in the course of diara resumption proceedings amounted to Rs. 81,154. This amount was not all from estates lying within the Nadia district or borne on the Nadia roll, but included resumptions and resettlements in Burdwan, Murshidabad, Jessore and the 24-Parganas districts.

139. Revision of rents and revenue under section 104.—Apart from new estates 199 Government and private temporarily-settled estates were taken up. These covered an area of 87 square miles, most of them lying along the banks of the rivers, where they had been created as the result of previous resumption proceedings. The rent or revenue (whichever name is preferred) from khas mahal estates rose from Rs. 18,141 to Rs. 28,194, an increase of 55 per cent. This was largely due to the assessment of accretions which had previously escaped assessment. Temporarily settled estates' revenue rose from Rs. 55,912 to Rs. 88,795, an increase of Rs. 32,883. The details of the settlements of the estates dealt with will be found in Appendices X and XI.

The revision of rent and revenue under section 104 does not call for much notice. It was considerable in bulk and much scattered in distribution but it did not differ in essentials from the ordinary revisions carried out from time to time in districts not under a general district settlement. The chief point which called for remarks and which was brought to the notice of the district authorities during the settlement was the undesirable extent to which persons other than *bonâ fide* cultivators had acquired raiyati status. For instance the Midnapore Zemindari Company and other landlords had been recognised in the past as having the interest of an occupancy raiyat in several temporarily-settled estates with the result that the actual cultivator had been reduced to the position of an under-tenant with little or no protection against eviction. In many instances the former settlements had been under the regulations and questions of status had not been dealt with. Yet it was difficult to brush aside the status which had been implicitly recognised at those settlements. In practically all these cases the raiyati interests had been acquired by planters for indigo cultivation, though some of the present possessors had acquired them by purchase. The

position was also complicated by questions of merger where some of the larger landlords had acquired the superior interest subsequent or previously to the raiyati interest. Instances of the former were estates 2770, 2767-2768, 3561, 841, 866 and 2450. Other instances of the appropriation of the raiyati status by persons not contemplated as such by the act were found in three large estates in Bhil Media and Bhil Dhala near Meherpur. Money-lenders, grain dealers and an *ex-Naib* of the Katuli concern, as well as pleaders and a clerk had been allowed to purchase raiyatis and acquire recognition by the payment of *salami*. Some of these had no intention of *bonâ fide* cultivation and had already sublet and were rack-renting the real cultivating classes. In most cases having been recognised by Government, they were beyond the settlement's reach, and we had no alternative but to leave things as they were. It was apparent, however, that the discrimination which it is possible to exercise by enforcing the payment of *salami* for recognition should be more carefully exercised in order to keep out of Government estates profiteering middlemen. The total number of objections filed under section 104 E was 548. This seems rather large; but it was to some extent due to the fact that such objections are usually heard locally. 'The tenant is not put to much inconvenience in putting forward an objection and often thinks that by a little "blarney" on the spot he will be able to induce the appellate authority to believe that his plot is not really *bastu* or *bagan* but some less valuable class. It was largely too a matter of epidemics, one tenant objected and others followed to try their luck. I remember one fairly small estate which produced no less than 50 objections all against classification and, on local inspection, many of them proved to be absolutely groundless. They do, however, draw attention to one important point and that is that special treatment of khas mahal and temporarily-settled estates, is advisable in the earlier cadastral stages. The *jamabandi* officer may be unable to inspect in detail the lands of every raiyat whose rent he settles. He has often to rely, at any rate, where one plot contains land of two classes, upon the *khasra* to ascertain the proportion of the different classes included. Again according to the general survey practice

the actual site of the building is often lumped in one plot with the surrounding lands belonging to the owner. Yet in settling fair rents it may be necessary to apply different rates to these two classes. In permanently-settled estates where these entries are either only used for statistical purposes, or for indicating the rights to possession of an occupant, an error which does not affect the outer limits of the land in possession is not a vital matter. But in temporary-settled or khas mahal estates where the *khasra* and the record has to be used as the basis for settling rents, it is imperative that the accuracy of both should be of a high standard and it is not safe to leave the *khasra* so much as is done elsewhere to preparation by the Amin.

Apart from the increase of rent and revenue as a result of an increase in area, the main ground for enhancement was the rise in the price of staple food crops. In most cases rents had not been raised for many years, in some cases not for the last 50 years; increases up to 7 annas in the rupee were therefore technically justifiable. But the maximum enhancement was seldom enforced, as the last decennial period which we had to take for comparison was somewhat distorted by the abnormal prices of the post-war years. The average enhancement was 4-5 annas in the rupee. Compared with prevailing rates in the locality the rents fixed were fairly high, but the lands with which we had to deal were mainly riparian resumptptions from river beds and the most fertile in the area. In the south several estates contained brick field lands which for short time settlements afforded high assets.

140. Diara resumption: general features.—Proceedings were drawn up for resuming accretions along the following rivers, the Bhagirathi, Jellanghi, Mathabhanga, Kumar and Gorai. There are three other rivers of some size, but beyond preliminary enquiries no formal steps towards resumption were taken.

The Kaliganga, an old and comparatively stable river, runs between high banks and has changed its course but little, consequently only detached and narrow strips could have been assessed. The total resumable area, had all proceedings been successful, would have been approximately 400 acres. It was doubtful whether the increase in revenue

would have been equivalent to the initial charges of resumption and the recurring costs of management. Moreover in dealing with narrow strips, slight discrepancies in the relay of the revenue survey maps are more apparent and more likely to be successfully challenged. The same conditions prevailed in the case of the Churni.

The third river which was omitted was a branch of the Gorai, locally known as the Katakali, which breaks off to the east below Khoksa. There have been substantial accretions since the revenue survey, but its course is not shown in Rennell's map. People in the neighbourhood ascribed its origin to a comparatively recent artificial channel cut to drain off a bñil and the name also points to the same conclusion. The site shown as water therefore in the revenue survey map was probably still land in 1793 and as such was beyond the diara officers' reach.

The rivers dealt with are now comparatively small, but except in the case of the Gorai the deterioration had set in long before the permanent settlement, so that while at one time there had been much shrinkage, a good many of the accretions which resulted were shut out from resumption because they had already formed and had been included in permanently-settled estates in 1793. In addition to this owing to the decadent condition of the rivers, fluctuation in the courses had been much less violent than on the Ganges, so that the total area of newly formed land was comparatively small. For the same reason, however, it is more stable and, though the increase in revenue is comparatively small, it is likely to be permanent.

In the early days of British rule these rivers had received a good deal of attention as possible trade routes from Calcutta to the upper Ganges valley. Elementary training works on the Mathabhanga had in several places assisted large changes in the course between the time of the permanent settlement and the revenue survey, so that resumption on the basis of the latter was not possible. There were also several early surveys, and while these maps were not sufficiently accurate to use as a basis for resumption they afforded objectors material for disputing the revenue survey map as a correct

picture of the river at the time of the permanent settlement.

141. The procedure.—Two officers, Babus Promotha Nath Dutta and Hira Lal Sen dealt with the Bhagirathi and the cases were heard piecemeal. On each of the other rivers all objections were heard together by the former officer and reviewed in one judgment. This method has its advantages, objectors are saved legal expenses, they can pool their material and the cases are better represented.

The basis of all proceedings is of course the preparation of a 4-inch comparative map showing the relative positions of the river at present and at the time of the revenue survey. For the Bhagirathi this map was prepared in the office of the Director of Surveys, Bengal, by replotting from data common stations in the cadastral and revenue survey maps over a considerable stretch of the river. This is the more accurate method as errors can be distributed over large areas. Maps of the other rivers were prepared in the settlement office by fitting traces of each cadastral village map reduced to a common scale into a congregated revenue survey map. In using this method distribution of error is practically limited to the boundaries of single villages and as the revenue survey and cadastral boundaries do not always precisely agree the traces may coincide at one point on the boundary but not exactly at another. The method is not suited for large rivers where the revenue survey and cadastral maps do not show both banks of the river, but it gives sufficiently accurate results for small rivers and it has the advantage of being easily intelligible to parties who can if they wish put forward alternative versions of the relay done by the same method themselves. As a matter of fact the accuracy of the relay of the revenue map was never seriously challenged in the course of the proceedings.

The limits of resumption were next traced on to 16-inch sheets; this line was shown on the ground to parties interested and the resulting alterations in the record were attested in their presence. This local demarcation also gave the Diara Officer an opportunity of modifying the line where the relay conflicted with the appearance of the ground, where for instance, to take an

extreme example, it placed within the revenue survey river a building which obviously dated from before it. Objections against resumption were then heard by the Diara and Settlement Officer and the cases complete for both banks of the whole river within the area were submitted to the Director of Land Records. To save time *kabuliats* were taken from the parties subject to confirmation of proceedings by the Board immediately after the Settlement Officer passed his orders for release or resumption.

142. Objections.—The grounds of objection taken by the parties were not numerous: apart from more or less conventional pleas which were not seriously pressed, such as that the proceedings were barred by limitation, they were practically all variations in one form or another of two issues—(a) where does the onus of proof lie? and (b) have the lands assessed sprung from the bed of an ancient river or are they reformations *in situ* of land included in the permanent settlement? The ultimate issue in every case is a question of fact, namely, the limits of land and water in 1793, the former being already assessed and the latter presumably unassessed. The position of the onus of proof is a question of law, but in these cases it is of more than usual importance because it means proof of facts as they were 130 years ago. It is obviously easy for the party who can rely on an inference as to these conditions, and difficult for the party who has to produce specific evidence to rebut the inferences. It is for Government as the claimant to additional revenue to establish a *primâ facie* title to it either by specific proof that the area is unassessed and assessable, or by invoking some recognised legal presumption to the same effect. The latter is the course adopted. The revenue survey map is put forward as the earliest accurate indication of conditions in 1793 when the last assessment was made and Government then proceeds to assess accretions which are shown to have formed since the date of the revenue survey. This procedure has the statutory authority of Act IX of 1847 but the statute itself is based upon a general rule of evidence, namely, the doctrine of continuity. The revenue survey maps show the limits of land and water in or about 1860 and those limits

are presumed until the contrary is shown to have been the same 70 years before.

Objectors often denied the applicability of the presumption of continuity. They argued that the nature of the river was to change and that therefore what was land now, but water in 1860, was just as likely to have been land in 1793 and included in their estates. In resumption cases at one time arguments of this kind were not seriously considered. In fact the statutory provision of Act IX were so rigidly applied that according to one view, once a comparison of the revenue survey map showed that there had been an accretion, there was an absolute presumption that it was assessable and further evidence to the contrary was shut out. This extreme view was departed from in *Fahimidannissa Begum versus Secretary of State* (Indian Law Report, 14 Calcutta, page 88), in which the presumption was held to be rebuttable, but in that and in succeeding cases [even in *Haradas Acharjeya Choudhury versus Secretary of State* (26 C.L.J., page 590), which objectors put forward to prove the opposite] it has always been held that the initial onus "of proving that the Government revenue fixed in 1793 as assessed on any particular lands as being included in the permanent settlement is on those who affirm that such is the case." This proposition is reasonable. To escape assessment of lands which are *primâ facie* a recent gain, the proprietor must prove not merely that the land has never been assessed, but that it has never been assessed as part of his particular estate. Even where the presumption of continuity is weak, there must be some indication that any change which may have taken place has been in favour of the specific proprietor. The result was that the initial onus of proof was in all these cases held to be upon the proprietor.

The second main objection, namely, that the lands proposed for assessment were reformation *in situ* of parts of the proprietors' estate was supported by different kinds of evidence such as ancient maps and chittas which, of course, varied in different cases.

143. Bhagirathi resumptions.—There had previously been resumptions under Regulation II of 1819 on the old principles of comparing quinquennial

paper areas with existing areas and assessing the whole ostensible accretion up to this amount irrespective of the width of the resumption. In the Bhagirathi though the breadth of the river had diminished it had not decreased to a very marked extent. By these old resumptions Government had sometimes already resumed all the ground covered by a river shifting throughout a number of years. The present principle of resumption is to resume only the ground covered by a river stationary in one year, the year of the permanent settlement: where therefore we found large previously resumed areas running parallel to the strip which our comparative maps showed as assessable we did not press for resumption if it appeared that a stretch equivalent to the width of the permanent settlement river had already been resumed. It was doubtful if this limitation of claims was absolutely imposed on legal grounds, but it certainly appeared to be so on equitable considerations.

Apart from a few isolated cases, the only evidence the objectors could put forward to prove that the areas proposed for assessments were reformatations *in situ*, was Rennell's maps. One had only to superimpose enlarged traces of this on the diara maps to see that Rennell's survey was far too inaccurate to determine by itself the boundaries of estates. Unsupported by other evidence it was rejected, but in some cases from the position of village sites, shown in Rennell's map and indentifiable to-day, objectors were able to show that the river in 1776 (*i.e.*, Rennell's time) and therefore presumably at the permanent settlement flowed anywhere but over their estates. In these cases releases were allowed.

144. Jallanghi.—In addition to Rennell's there were two other old surveys of this river. One by Nelson in 1827 and one by May in 1828. The former was of no importance. It appears to be more in the nature of a sketch map possibly made on a preliminary reconnaissance for May's survey in the following year. May's map was not made on a large scale and its value for determining the actual boundaries of estates was little superior to that of Rennell's. These two combined, however, gave indications within 20 or 30 years on either side of

the permanent settlement. The principles we adopted were as follows:—

(a) That a substantial difference in configuration between Rennell's and the revenue survey map is sufficient to prove that there was a difference in the site of the rivers at the time the maps were prepared.

(b) That if there is other evidence to support Rennell it may be presumed that the site of his river is the site of the permanent settlement river and that if this is different from the revenue survey site, there is a proper case for release.

(c) If the other evidence referred to is the divergence of another map, *e.g.*, May's from the revenue survey river, it must be sufficiently pronounced as not to be equally well explainable by an error in original survey or relaying.

(d) That where there is no other evidence to support Rennell, the objectors are not entitled to draw any presumption that the site of his river is identical with the site of the permanent settlement river.

(e) But if such a presumption is drawn, it is open to Government to rebut it by drawing similar conclusions from May's map.

Considering the small scale and the other conditions under which Rennell's map was made, the general configuration of this river agreed very fairly well with the revenue survey river and rather weakened than strengthened the objectors' claim to have shifted the initial onus on them. In the greater part of the river where there was a divergence between Rennell's and the revenue survey map, the latter was supported by May's map and the value of Rennell's map to the objector was negatived.

145. The Kumar.—For this river we had Rennell's and a map of 1810, author unknown. They were both useful in showing that the river was of such a size as to constitute a "navigable and public river" at the time of the permanent settlement. The 1810 map however supported Rennell in showing that at certain stretches there had been wide changes between the permanent settlement and the revenue survey. On the other hand where configuration in all three maps agreed it was fairly strong proof that there had been no change in site even if they would not fit quite together. For a river does not move

like a piece of rigid twisted metal and must in most cases change its configuration if it is changing its sites. There were on this river a few intricate cases where objectors attempted to prove exemption by relaying very old *chittas*. In one or two cases they were successful.

146. The Mathabhanga.—This was the one case in which our proposals were with practically no exceptions rejected by the Board. About 30 miles of river which appeared a promising field was ruled out by the discovery in some volumes in the Survey of India offices of a map by Colebrooke, 1796. We did not attempt resumption there, *i.e.*, in thanas Alamdanga, Chuadanga, Damurhuda, Krishnagar. But the rest of the river appeared to the resumption and the Settlement Officers to offer reliable cases for resumption.

The usual indefinite speculation as to where a river flowed 130 years ago was rendered comparatively simple in these cases by the existence of Colebrooke's map, which was prepared in 1795 and which may be taken as a representation of the local conditions at the time of the permanent settlement.

The element of doubt was the degree of accuracy of this early survey and the extent to which attempts at relay can be relied upon. The comparative maps showed that in Colebrooke and the revenue survey the sites did not exactly coincide; great divergencies could only be explained on the assumption that the river shifted on the ground between 1793 and the revenue survey and here the objectors were held to have rebutted the presumption that what was water in 1853 was water in 1793 and consequently excluded from their agreements. Smaller divergencies could be just as plausibly attributed to defects in the original survey of Colebrooke. In such cases the onus on the objectors and Government's claim to additional revenue remained unaffected.

The Board, however, held that it was illogical to make distinctions between large and small discrepancies and directed Colebrooke's map to be relaid. This was an extremely difficult task as there were divergencies of half a mile between known fixed points on each map in so short a distance as 10 miles; accordingly we applied for a revision reiterating the former claim that small discrepancies in a map inaccurately prepared could not be used by objectors to

shift the presumption that areas shown as water in the revenue survey was water at the permanent settlement. The Director of Land Records represented the case before the Board, but his successor held different views and informed the Board that he would not press for resumption. The proceedings were accordingly dropped throughout the river; no reason was given in the resolution but presumably it was considered that Colebrooke's map shifted the onus from the objectors in all cases.

147. Gorai.—Of this river, a map of 1821 by one Shalk had been unearthed amongst the old Survey of India volumes. This map supported claims to resumption very strongly for it showed that there had been practically no change between the river of 1821 and the area of the revenue survey proposed for assessment. It also showed, which was an important consideration in this case, that the river was about the same width at both dates. But it had one unfortunate flaw; it placed Kushtea on the wrong bank, which reflected somewhat on its accuracy, though this might have been an error in drawing rather than in original survey. The objectors could not raise the usual plea that the area proposed for assessment was a reformation *in situ*, on the ground that the river flowed somewhere else at the time of the permanent settlement. They claimed, however, that the area was included in their estates, because the river was very small in 1793 and had greatly increased in width between the permanent settlement and the revenue survey. Considerable ingenuity and much antiquarian research was displayed in supporting this claim: volumes of the Geographical Society's journals containing papers read before that body 50 years ago were unearthed and cited as evidence. There were certainly indications from the known history of the Ganges and Brahmaputra which suggested that the Gorai had been narrow in Rennell's time and had opened out since then. It was probable, however, that this process had been largely accomplished by 1793, so that there was little difference in width between the permanent settlement river and the revenue survey river which was under resumption. Moreover there was considerable doubt about the accuracy of the authorities cited against resumption, many of whom appeared not to be

giving facts under their own observation, but to be quoting previous observers. The evidence of Shalk's map too was against the objectors. It may have been that in resuming the entire area covered by the revenue survey river, we were resuming some sites which were land at the time of the permanent settlement, but the objectors were unable to show that the specific sites assessed had been part of their estates. The Board held that Shalk's map was decisive and confirmed resumption. The diara resumption work, though it did not cover a very large area, involved a great deal of labour. The determination of the area to be assessed is only the first stage. Once settled this has to be translated into rents and revenue, raiyats have to be split up and the portions falling respectively in the area resumed and that left within permanent estates divided off and separately recorded, assets have to be calculated and assessment made upon them.

There were altogether 276 cases started, 108 were confirmed by the Board and 143 dropped, 25 involving Murshidabad are still pending. 143 new estates were created and an additional annual revenue of Rs. 28,228 is now paid.

The work was therefore not unremunerative but it added much complication and expense to the concluding stages of the settlement's work. The area covered was considerably larger than the programme. In resumption work it is difficult to compress a larger programme into the originally allotted time, by speeding up outturn. Parties are slow to produce their evidence, and it is usually badly presented. If hurried, they fail to disclose grounds of objection which later emerge before the Board or the civil court and which ultimately defeat claims to resumption that have absorbed considerable time and money to establish at earlier stages. Another inevitable cause of delay is the fact that work can only be done by a specialist. To ensure uniformity of treatment he has to be given a much larger charge than is allotted to the ordinary Attestation Officer. His work is much more elaborate and he has to halt for statutory periods of objection. The villages involved lag more and more behind in the stages of preparing the record. Finally the consideration of the cases by the Board adds another six months

to the normal period required for landing a finished record at the press. The result is that the final winding up of the settlement operations is much delayed. Uncertainty as to when the cases will be received back from the Board, makes it difficult to maintain a consistent programme of work in printing and the final stages, and while the overhead charges continue they tend to become disproportionately large to the subordinate staff employed and the outturn of work. In Nadia this was not as serious as it might have been because (1) shortness of funds would in any case have postponed completion of the records even if they had been ready to work upon; (2) it was possible to distribute a share of the overhead charges to the Murshidabad settlement which was starting from the same headquarters. Much of the disadvantages, however, remained; apart from the additional delay and expense, each area dealt with in recovery has to be worked over at least twice, first in the distribution of records of the normal villages and again when those affected in diara are completed.

There are three methods of minimising the delay, each has its disadvantages—

1. To print and complete the records of the parts of villages not affected in diara. But apart from disorganising the usual arrangements for binding records, this means that recovery has to be done in the first instance without the issue of the map.

2. To complete the record and do resumption afterwards, but in this case part of the record becomes out of date immediately the resumption proceedings are confirmed.

3. To avoid the re-duplication of attestation in first attesting the whole village and then re-attesting those rents which have to be split up on resumption. In other words to combine the resumption proceedings in the normal programme of attestation and split the rents before attesting them. This seems to be the quickest, but it would only be feasible if the area were small, *bujharat* exemplary, and the case for resumption fairly impeccable.

Generally speaking it seems very desirable to get a test case or two through at the very earliest possible stage of the operation so as to be able

to gauge by a thorough reconnaissance the position and strength of the objectors' defences.

Chapter V.—Financial: Recovery of costs.

148. Expenditure on different stages.—The operations may be regarded as having been practically completed by the end of the year 1925-26. Some final stages still remain to be finished in some villages on the Nadia-Murshidabad border where diara operations were taken up as a sort of connecting link between the two settlements. The cost of this has not been included in the detailed statement below, but a sum of Rs. 10,000 which it is anticipated will cover all final charges has been shown separately. Strictly speaking, the additional Rs. 4 per square mile which this represents should be split up among the different items following on *janch* in the statement below. The latter shows totals and rates of expenditure as well as the departures from the estimate:—

	Estimated expenditure according to sanctioned estimate for the whole operation.	Actual expenditure.	Actual cost rate per square mile.	Cost rate to which sanctioned estimate for the whole operation works out.	Excess or decrease over sanctioned rate.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Cadastral survey ..	3,26,251	2,84,426	107	116	-9
Khanapuri ..	1,11,705	1,34,167	51	40	+11
Initial recess ..	50,454	67,076	25	18	+7
Bujharat ..	2,56,197	2,76,900	104	91	+13
Attestation ..	1,63,048	2,00,402	72	58	+14
Draft publication and objections ..	75,918	47,164	18	27	-9
Janch ..	56,000	62,387	23	20	+3
Statistics ..	28,030	13,285	5	10	-5
Maps ..	22,424	30,033	11	8	+3
Final records ..	1,46,931	2,00,654	75	62	+23
Computation and recovery ..	76,532	84,516	33	27	+6
Case work ..	60,809	61,617	23	22	+1
Jamabandi ..	18,240	50,344	19	7	+12
Supervision ..	5,56,418	3,84,546	145	199	-54
Supplies, services, and contingencies—					
(1) Ordinary ..	1,79,105	2,58,864	97	64	+33
(2) Press ..	1,00,071	1,15,143	43	36	+7
Director of Land Records control ..	44,848	38,119	14	16	-2
Total ..	22,73,191	23,09,656	865	811	+54

The figures do not require much comment. The excess of expenditure over the sanctioned estimate allowing for Rs. 10,000 anticipated expenditure amounts to Rs. 46,555 or an excess of 2 per cent. The excess on rate per square mile is proportionately more as we were fortunate in finding in our area slightly less than had been estimated. The excess was Rs. 59 per square mile or 7 per cent.

The excess over estimates is fully explained by the fact that the inception proposals were drafted in 1916 before the great post-war rise in prices of material and services could be anticipated. The heads on which savings on rates were effected were—

	Ra. per square mile.
Cadastral survey ..	-9
Draft publication and objections ..	-9
Statistics ..	-5
Supervision ..	-54
Director of Land Records Control ..	-2

These are accounted for by the comparatively moderate incidence of plots, so far as survey is concerned, by the fact that entries in the record apart from questions of principle in the Utbandi controversy were not frequently contested and by economy in staff particularly at the beginning of the operations.

The items in which there was an excess over the estimated rate were—

	Ra. per square mile.
Khanapuri ..	+11
Initial recess ..	+7
Bujharat ..	+13
Attestation ..	+14
Janch ..	+3
Maps ..	+3
Final records ..	+23
Computation and recovery ..	+6
Case work ..	+1
Jamabandi ..	+12
Supplies, services and contingencies ..	+33
Press ..	+7

Every settlement has its difficulties, some in common with all, others peculiar to itself. Nadia was not particularly embarrassed as are some of the present settlements by an excessive incidence of plots or interests. On the other hand from a financial point of view the two chief difficulties were the intricacies of the Utbandi record which involved labour and expense in all stages subsequent to *bujharat* and the distance of the scene of operations from our base. From the eastern part of C block it took

12 hours to reach headquarters by train and a good horseman well mounted 2 days. The latter circumstance apart from the rise in prices explains the excess over the estimated rate in ordinary contingencies which are almost identical with Pabna settlement conducted under similar circumstances.

The excess in *jamabandi* and diara is accounted for by an under-estimate of area in the original estimate, a factor which affects the rate on account of the high overhead charges in this type of work.

The final completed record was put in the hands of the holders of land at a cost which amounted for A block to Re. 1-1 and for the rest of the district to Re. 1 per acre. This they should have been able to bear without hardship.

149. Apportionment and recovery.—The realisation of costs of settlement from private parties is a difficult matter. The final cost has to be estimated long before the operations are finished, because the record cannot be distributed until the parties can be called on to pay. The total estimated cost has to be apportioned as fairly as possible among the persons interested in land in proportion to the value which a permanent record of their rights may be. The more fleeting their interest, the less use is a permanent record of facts existing at the time of the survey. This explains the rather elaborate distribution, details of which will be found in the apportionment orders for the three different blocks printed in Appendix IX at the end of the volume. In C block the rate was Re. 1-1, in the rest Re. 1. It was rather unfortunate that the higher rate fell on, at any rate, one part of the district which was distinctly the poorer, but the difference was not very great.

The total amount including anticipated expenditure and deducting receipts and the State's share of the cost, due from private parties comes to Rs. 17,30,852. We had computed as a result of applying the apportionment order Rs. 17,86,926 and we worked recovery on this basis, long of course before it could be known that the former figure would be the actual cost to be distributed. Of the computed figure practically all has now been recovered. So that the approximation of recoveries and the true share of the cost due from private parties is very close.

The machinery and procedure of recovery is now laid down in the Technical Rules, and on the whole worked smoothly. The number of villages scattered throughout the district however, which had to be held back from the first sweep of recovery, because they were involved in diara or *jama-bandi*, much hampered the work. A recovery camp requires a good volume of villages to work on, because there is always a dwindling attendance the longer the camp stays. The result is that if an area has to be worked over more than once, camps have either to move on leaving a lot of demands to be collected by certificate or else waste time and money waiting for a few stragglers to come in.

150. Conclusion: Services of officers.—In setting forth the record of a settlement's work, the writer of the Final Report is apt to find himself hampered by two circumstances; he may lack knowledge of the work of his staff and he may be embarrassed by a becoming modesty in retailing it. I am fortunately quite free from the latter—for I had nothing to do with the operations until the last cadastral season and nothing at all to do with attestation except as a spectator. While this fact frees me from one embarrassment, it makes me painfully conscious of the other. And it is really painful, because I should be sorry to think that the work of the settlement may be judged by the superficial treatment of the affairs of the district given in those parts of the report, which I have been condemned to write. The Nadia settlement staff completed every programme of field work up to time. It failed to do so in the final stages of about 100 square miles of villages affected by diara; the blame for this must be equally distributed between the adjoining districts, which gave us these unwelcome hostages, the cumbersome procedure of Act IX of 1847, the deliberations of the Board of Revenue, and myself. But as a matter of fact ninety-five hundredths of the work was done and the result put in the hands of landholders by 1924.

The accuracy of the Nadia record, I would rate very high. I have seen the final records of several districts both from inside and outside the department, and I do not think that they have excelled that of the Nadia record.

No settlement, I think, has been started which has not met with some troublesome characteristic more or less peculiar to the district and very often unsuspected at the time of the inception proposals. In Nadia I should say that the unhealthiness of the district and the strain of a four-party programme made the field work more burdensome than had been anticipated; on the other hand the incidence of plots and interests except in the far east was not abnormal, so that an extra effort enabled the difficulties at this stage to be overcome. The real problem was the one which had been anticipated and which was the main *raison d'être* of the statement Utbandi. Paragraph 127 which retails the procedure at attestation shows what this meant.

All the recent settlements have the great advantage of having been able to follow and to benefit by the ground work done by the pioneer settlements in Bengal. Methods of recording in a compact and intelligible form the normal relations of landlord and tenant are stereotyped; they can be taken in one's stride and recorded mechanically. The settlement staff has no longer to puzzle out *how* to translate on paper the verbal statement of parties and the long recitals of documents descriptive of relations of half a million landlords and tenants. But in Nadia we met with Utbandi, which no settlement had had to tackle really seriously on a large scale before. During the Rajshahi settlement much valuable work had been done in a rough preliminary determination of the principles of the problem, but the real difficulties of the record had not been thrashed out. For this reason I doubt if the purely technical difficulties of the Nadia settlement have been equalled by any other of recent years. That the problem has been met and recorded in a manner which judging by the number of objections and cases was not contentious is satisfactory. That some partial solution has been found in the shape of the Utbandi Act, which appears to be gradually dissolving the abnormalities of the system, is further evidence that the settlement not merely recorded things as it found them, but left them better than they were. If this work is good, it is largely due to the very real *esprit de corps* which pervaded the settlement staff; and nowhere was this more apparent than among

Kanungos. At the end of the second season the Settlement Officer wrote "I have to record with much regret the death from cholera of another Kanungo Babu Chinta Haran Sen Gupta. He was bravely and loyally nursed during his last illness by his Circle Officer Babu Ashutosh Banerji, the neighbouring Kanungos and his own Amins. I think it my duty to call the Director of Land Records' attention and the attention of Government to the conscientiousness and endurance of the settlement Kanungos. During the past year Government's proposals for recruitment to the reformed subordinate service were published, and have not fulfilled the expectations which the Bengal Administration Report held out to them. The end of the big settlement operations in Bengal is now in sight. The service is getting anxious for its future. Some are getting past field work. The number will progressively increase." I can only reiterate that every word of this is true. I have yet to meet the service where a man's work is so directly measurable in quantity and subject to scrutiny as to quality as a Kanungo's. Anyone who looks at the fortnightly returns can see who is doing too little work and bad work comes under the notice of the Attestation Officer the next season if it has not come to light before. Since the words quoted were written there has been a further weeding out of Kanungos so that the standard has presumably risen. It is unnecessary to recount the physical hardships of field work. But if anyone is in doubt about them let him stand by a plane table for long hours every day from January to August. His doubts will have vanished if he has not done so himself. I do not think the Kanungo's life is unhealthy, indeed they are a very much fitter lot of men than one meets in the general line of administration, but after a really strenuous field season the effects of this physical hard work are perfectly apparent in the appearance of most of the field staff with whom one is familiar. Hard work and good service perhaps never killed anyone, but it is worthy of reward. Though the Kanungos' pay has been raised they are still beset by the sense of insecurity which the technical temporary nature of their service entails and which is perhaps of more significance in this country than elsewhere. Speaking from a purely departmental point of view, I feel that the

service has really earned a claim to more permanent provision.

In mentioning the names of officers who are specially deserving of commendation, it is impossible to avoid omitting many whose good work must go unrecorded by name.

Khan Sahab Kabiruddin Ahmed acted as Settlement Officer from the middle of January until March in the first season. He was quite unaided, being without the services for most of the time even of a Technical Adviser. He had to carry out the difficult transitional stages of starting the diara, and he had to take up the difficult question of Utbandi, when the Settlement Officer went on leave. The thanks of the department are certainly due to him for his untiring zeal and cheerful energy. Mr. Philpot who joined as Settlement Officer in March found many problems awaiting him. He applied himself to them all with characteristic thoroughness and ability and contributed much in particular to the problem of the correct handling of Utbandi.

Babu Kalipoda Maitra rejoined as charge officer about the same time as Mr. Philpot joined as Settlement Officer. As headquarters Assistant Settlement Officer and attestation charge officer in the first block, his wide experience, his natural insight into difficult issues of revenue law were invaluable in tackling the Utbandi problem. Of later charge officers Babu Nepal Chandra Sen combined activity with great intelligence and thoroughness. He worked in all three blocks, in the last as charge officer and finally took over complete charge of the settlement in its last attestation season, after which he handed it over to me in absolute good order. No one I think has personally contributed more to the correct framing of the record. Babu Surendra Nath Ray by sheer drive and ubiquity, two qualities that were invaluable, enabled the very heavy programme in the last cadastral season to be completed. He proved an excellent cadastral charge officer and a most painful person to tour with if allowed to set the pace. Babu Hira Lal Sen besides attestation work was responsible for much of the diara resumption work, for which his previous experience fitted him. He became headquarters Assistant Settlement Officer during the last cadastral season and throughout the last stages

of the operations. I learnt to appreciate his good qualities still later on during the Murshidabad operations and I could not have wished for a better headquarters assistant settlement officer or a more pleasant personality to work with. Babu Promotha Nath Dutta did careful and painstaking work as the other diara officer, until he died almost in the midst of his work at Meherpur of malignant malaria.

Other officers who as gazetted officers or Kanungos deserve mention are Deputy Collectors Babu Jogesh Chandra Mitra, Maulvi Ali Azam and Babu Girish Chandra Das. Sub-Deputy Collectors Maulvi Nazimuddin Ahmad, Babus Makhkan Lal Bannerji, Shyamapada Bhattacharji, Umesh Chandra Banerji, Suresh Chandra Ghose, Kunja Mohan De, Profulla Chandra Bannerji and Surendra Nath Mukherji. Revenue Officers Babus Anukul Chandra Ganguli, Jogesh Chandra Guha, and Maulvi Taheruddin Ahamad.

Mr. Newton did valuable work as Technical Adviser till the end of the second field season, when he was succeeded by Babu Sailesh Chandra Ghose, who is still in charge of the Berhampore drawing office. Besides touring indefatigably, he ran the drawing office and its connected branches extremely well. This is an important and semi-independent charge. Owing to the rules regarding age he could not to my disappointment be promoted to the Subordinate Provincial Service, to which he would have been a most useful addition and which he thoroughly deserved. But he has never lost heart or keenness.

Of the ministerial staff those in camps had a particularly hard time in an unhealthy district like Nadia and the difficulties of the Utbandi record made their work important. It is only fair to put on record that the majority of them backed up their Kanungos and Attestation Officers well. Of those at headquarters Babu Kali Mohan Dutt and Jitendra Choudhuri, as record-keeper and head draftsman did good work.

Of Mr. Pringle and myself it is only necessary for me to say that the settlement, its organisation, inspiration, and success were his, and I the extremely reluctant historian of part of it. The thanks of both of us are due for their guidance and help to Mr. Sachse and Mr. Jameson, Directors of Land Records.

Appendices

APPENDIX IV.

List of Tauzies with corresponding numbers in Thak or Mauzawar Register.

(a) No Statement available.

(c) Transferred from Jessore.

(b) Nun khalasi.

(d) Sonadiya Lakhiraj.

Mauza name.	Jurisdiction List No.	Estate No. according to Thak or mauzawar register.	Corresponding present No.
Sasta	15	155 156 157 158 159 213 3374	3231 3232 3233 3234, 3522 3235 3240 3378 also contains 684 B1, 685 B1, 686 B1 (rail- way released lands).
Mirpur	17	154	3233
Nagar Sasta	18	155 156 157 158 159 3374	3231 3232 3233 3234 3235, 3522 3378
Kanchanpur	19	157	3233
Paharpur	20	(a)	....
Paikpara	21	178 J 3374	178 J 3378
		Cases No. 2708, 2692 (b)	....
Syampur	22	....	....
Dhikipara	23	3374 3554 F	3378 3554 F
Singdaha	24	178 J 309 J 3548	178 J 309 J 3455
		Cases No. 1175, 2792 (b)	....
Bahala Gobindapur	25	113 307 J 3389 3343	3199, 3515, 3516, 3517, 3518, 3519. 3372 3281 3377
Kaburat	26	178 J 3374	178 J 3378
Chapra	58	114 115 116 307 3389 3752 4287 3461 3505 3392 3351 (c) 3468 (c)	5045 J 5046 J 5047 J 3372 3281 3374 3404 3282 3425 3392 J
		Case No. 1005 (b)	....
		" " 941	T. No. 4890 of Jessore.

Mauza name.	Jurisdiction List No.	Estate No. according to Thak or mauzawar register.	Corresponding present No.
Bharala	59	170 J 3565	170 J 3324
Dharmapara	60	122	3207
Durgapur	61	175 307 3752 3495	175 J 3372 3374 3454
Madhupur	61	175 J 307 J 3752	175 J 3372 3374
Bagulat	63	178 J 3464 3370 3461	178 J 3415 3416 3282
Madulia	64	178 J 3370 3374	178 J 3416 3378
Kalikatala	65	114 P	5045 J, 5046 J, 5047 J,
Sanpukuria	66	3374 178 J 3374	3378 178 J 3378
Dudkumra	67	178 J 3374 3347	178 J 3378 3376
Salgamodia	68	160 P 3372 3456 3505 3464 3758	3236 3417 3419 3425 3415 3421
		Case No. 2658 (b)	....
Damdama	69	3461 155 156 157	3282 3231 3232 3233
Nitailpara	70	157	3233
Udaynaturia	71	155 156	3231 3232
Rasulpur	75	213	3240
Naturia	77	159 3561	3235, 3522 3457
		Case No. 2708 (b)	....
Bharuapara	79	157 3374	3233 3378
Baniakhari	80	98 P	3186
Mirpur	88	178 J 3565 309 J	178 J 3324 309 J
		Case No. 2612 (b)	....
		303 J 313 J	303 J 313 J
		Cases No. 2809, 2791 (b)	....
		3347 3391 J 177 J	3376 3391 J 177 J
Chandpur	91	Cases No. 2669, 1005, 1680 (b) 3351 (c) 3565 3756	.... 3324 3373

Mauza name.	Jurisdiction List No.	Estate No. according to Thak or mauzawar register.	Corresponding present No.
Adabaria	82	154 P	3230
Shaikpara	76	213	3240
		Cases No. 2837, 2708 (b)	....
Ramchandrapur	99	177 J	177 J
		3471	3471 J
Khudra Bhaluka	95	113	3517
		3347	3376
		3394	3456
		3752	3374
		307	3372
		3458	3453
		Case No. 959 (d)	....
		" " 955 (b)	....
Jadob Sripur	94	3375 J	3375 J
		269	3375
		3505	3425
Ramnagar	102	105 P	3430
Tushar Maliat	103	178 J	178 J
		3365	3324
Janguli	87	177 J	177 J
		3441 J(c)	....
		3539 J(c)	....
		937	3264
Banshgram	81	98	3186
Bariachara	93	98	3186
Kushlibasha	83	98	3186
Monoharpur	78	113	3199
Gobra	100	178 J	178 J
		179 J	179 J
		3565	3324
		309	309 J
		3442	3442 J
		313	313 J
		302	302 J
		3475	3475 J
		Cases No. 2609, 2726 and 613	....
		3347	3376
Dhalnagar-Protappur	84	178 J	178 J
		3441 J, 3537 J, 4052 (c)	....
Kanchanpur	86	177 J	177 J
		3565	3324
Ramdia	96	175 J	175 J
Niamatbari	85	103	5578 J
Nabdia	89	....(a)	224 BI occurs.
Khagarbaria	101	178 J	178 J
		309	309 J
		179 J	179 J
		3565	3324
Panti	98	105	3430
Baksika	90	178 J	178 J
		3565	3324
		3375	3375 J
Mohannagar	92	177 J	177 J
		3756	3373
Huda Nandapur	27	....(a)	....
Habashpur	28	178 J	178 J
Kashimpur	29	105 P	3430
			319 BI also occurs.

Mauza name.	Jurisdiction List No.	Estate No. according to Thak or mauzawar register.	Corresponding present No.
Bansara	30	105 P	3430 90 BI, 91 BI, 92 BI, 319 BI, 810 BI, also occur.
Bhabanipur	52	105 P	3430
Chak Raghu	54	105 P	3430 92 BI, 157 BI, also occur.
Putia	55	3370 3055 (c) 3394 3461 307 3389 Case No. 1005 (b) 179 J 3377 3464 4287 Case No. 2774 (a) 3565 309 J 3548 3459 3470	3416 3456 3282 3372 3281 179 J 3377 J 3415 3404, 3405 3324 309 J 3445 3280 3470 J 157 BI, 624 BI, 625 BI, also occur.
Sonpukhuria	56	....(a)	....
Sondalia	57	178 J 3565 J	178 J 3324 377 BI also occur.
Dahakhola	72	113 P Case No. 959 (d)	3199
Ballabhpur	73	123 3505 3756 3459 3455 3347 3565 3392 3561 3389 307 3370	3208 3425 3373 3280 3452 3376 3324 3392 J 3457 3281 3372 3416
Rasulpur	74	157	3233
Birikaya	97	215 P	3241
Bagbaria	104	178 J 3753 303 3565 3375 309 Case No. 2791 (b)	178 J 3753 J 303 J 3324 3375 J 309 J
Oasi	105	103 P 1035	5578 J
Rajapur, Narayanpur ..	106	....(a)	....
Sondiarra	107	....(a)	....
Dansa	108	104 P	3192
Mulgram	109	179 J	179 J

Mauza name.	Jurisdiction List No.	Estate No. according to Thak or mauzawar register.	Corresponding present No.
Pitambarbash	110	104 1035	3192
Dasbari	111	103 P 1035 P	.... 5578 J
Janbasi	112	104 1035 P	.... 3192
Nagarkaya	113	3565 3505 113 3461 309 113 3505 3347 3459 307 3394	3324 3425 3199, 3518, 3519 3282 309 J 3515, 3516, 3519 3425 3376 3280 3372 3456
Bhaluka Jote Bhaluka ..	114		126 BI, 394 BI, also occur.
		Cases No. 2585 2726 (b)	
Bahalbaria	115	105 P	also 3430 394 BI.
Krishnapur	116	103 P 1035 P	5578 J
Bilkati	117	104 P	.... 3192
Jote Baria Arazi	118	123 3756 3561	3208 3373 3457
Chhatian Lakshmipur ..	119	175 J 3756 3565 179 J 3548 3495 3459	175 J 3373 3324 179 J 3455 3454 3280
Baruichara	120	148 P	3431
Jote Mura	121	214 P	3435
Bhabanipur	122	102 P 113 P 3370 3340 (c) 4287 318 J 3455 3461 3459 3389 808 P 3505 3561 3458 3648 3756 309 J	3190 3199 3416 3404 318 J 3452 3282 3280 3281 3253 3425 3457 3453 3455 3373 309 J
		Cases No. 938 2778 (a)	also 394 BI
Chandpur	123	3756 170 J 177 J 175 J 808 P 3370	3373 170 J 177 J 175 J 3253 3416

Mauza name.	Jurisdiction List No.	Estate No. according to Thak or mauzawar register.	Corresponding present No.
Hasdia	125	174 J 179 J 3756 3459 3505 3561 3455 3370 3565 3389 4287 3394 307 3459 3756 830 175 J 3455 3505 3464 3468 (c) 3461 Case No. 2585 (b) 2658 (d)	174 J 179 J 3373 3280 3415 3457 3452 3416 3324 3281 3404 3456 3372 3280 3373 3261 175 J 3452 3425 3415 3282 also 394 BI found.
Keshabpur	126	105 P 178 J 105 P	3430 178 J 3430
Agrakunda	127	175 J 179 J 3370 3561 3565 3394 3392 4414 (c) Case No. 3585 (b)	175 J 179 J 3416 3457 3324 3456 3392 J 408 BI, 4 BI, 5 BI, 704 BI, 705 BI, 706 BI, 707 BI, also found.
Teberia	128		
Shirkandi	129	105 P	3430
Batkamara	131	267 1705 148 P (a) 179 J 3343 3505 3548 (a) 103 P (a) 104 P	267 J 170 J 3431 179 J 3377 3425 3455 5578 J 3430 407 BI, 707 BI, also occur.
Tarapur	132	170 J	170 J
Tarapur	133		
Islampur	135		
Betbaria	136		
Tatankhan Bakhai	137		
Bakhai Mahabatpur	138		
Buzruk Bakhai	139		
Buzruk Durgapur	140		
Udoy Bishnupur	143	170 J Case No. 2585 (b)	170 J 6 BI, 394 BI, , 5 BI, also occur.

Mauza name.	Jurisdiction List No.	Estate No. according to Thak or mauzawar register.	Corresponding present No.
Kumarkhali	144	105 P	3430 5 BI, 6 BI, 407 BI, 408 BI, 431 BI also found.
Alangi	145	154 P	3230 199 BI, 200 BI, 3 BI, 4 BI, 5 BI, 6 BI also occur.
Elengi Accharjya	146	1036 (c) 3122 (c) 3423 J 3389 3756 175 J 3505	.... .... 3423 J 3281 3373 175 J 3425
Baruria	147	122 P 3495	3207 3454
Charaikola	148	267 J 3459 3389 3461 3756 4287 3464 3548 3394 3565 307	267 J 3280 3281 3282 3373 3404, 3405 3415 3455 3456 3324 3372
Sibrampur	149	3464 179 J 3389 Case No. 950	199 BI, 171 BI, 200 BI, 394 BI, 625 BI, 291 BI, 172 BI, also found. 3415 179 J 3281 291 BI
Mirzapur	151	105 P	3430
Hogla	175	174 J 3329 3458 3548 808 P 307	174 J 3399 3453 3455 3253 3372
Baniakandi	177	174 J	174 J
Chapaigachhi	178	105 P	3430
Edrakpur	179	104 P, 1035 P	3192
Hariagachi	180	105 P	3430
Matmaliat	181	978 P	3450
Maliat	182	105 P	3430
Dari Batikamara	184	105 P	3430
Khairchara	185	105 P	219 BI 3430
Jote Baira	188	Case No. 2585(b) 123 P 3370 3505 808 809 3561 3756 3449 3329 179 J 3459	.... 3208 3416 3425 3253 3384 3457 3373 3392 3399 179 J 3280

Mauza name.	Jurisdiction List No.	Estate No. according to Thak or mauzawar register.	Corresponding present No.
Etmanpur	189	123 3329 3459	3208 3399 3280
Bakidaha Gobindapur ..	190	102 P 808 P 3561 3329 3756 307 3548 3505 105	3190 3253 3457 3399 3373 3372 3455 3425 3430
Mulgram	191	170 J	170 J
Hizlakar	192	170 J 808 P 307 J 3329	170 J 3253 3372 3399
Huda	193	113 307 J 3458	377 BI also occur. 3199 3372 3453
Karatkandi	195	113 3394 3458 3370 3548 Cases No. 2834, 955	3199 3456 3453 3416 3456
Sultanpur	196	113 P 179 J	3199 179 J
Sadak Mahammadpur ..	197	714 P 788 P 790 P 218 P	3436, 3437, 3439 3441 3443 3438
Gopalpur	198	105 P	also 668-673 BI and 377 BI occur. 3430
Ramkrishnapur	201(a)	....	....
Darbeshpur	203	105 P	3430
Nandagram	204	105 P	3430
Khurd Sadao	205	105 P	3430
Bagchi Satpakhia	206	153 P 3548 J	3432 3455
Gopargram	207	105 P	3430
Mahishakola	201	105 P	3430
Enayetpur	222	3752 313 J 309 J 3340(c) 3458 3370 3505 3394 113 P 3464	484-487 BI also found. 3374 313 J 309 J 3453 3416 3425 3456 3199, 3515, 3516 3415
Mahish Bathan	283	3547 F 3495	3547 F 3454
Gopalpur	284	148 P	3431
Kismat Fulbaria	285	148 P	3431
Mahmanalipur	288	148 P	3431

Mauza name.	Jurisdiction List No.	Estate No. according to Thak or mauzawar register.	Corresponding present No.
Satpakhia	210	3548 153 P Case No. 1005(b) 105 P	3455 3432 3430
Nischintabari	212		486 BI, 487 BI, 554 BI, 555 BI,
Kadirpur	213	148 P	3431
Ratanpur	214	113 P 3459 808 P 3370 J 3458 Case No. 2834 3340(c) 3350(c)	3199 3280 3253 3416 3453
Dudrajpur	215	3455 113 P 3458	3452 3199 3453
Hashimpur	216	3392 J 3756 313 J 3548 3458 808 P 3561 307 J 3464 4287 Cases No. 2834, 2708(b) ....(a)	3392 J 3454 313 J 3455 3453 3253 3457 3372 3416 3404
Muragachha	217		....
Helalpur	219	153 P 307	3432 3372
Khanpur	220	215 P	3241
Hizlabati	221	176 J 307 313 J 3505	176 J 3372 313 J 3425
Debinagar	223	104 P	3192
Osmanpur Arazi	224	104 P 103 P	3192 5578 J
Sripur	225	170 J 3375 J 3458 4287	170 J 3375 J 3453 3404
Osmanpur	226	104	3192
Raypur	227	153 P 808 P 4287 3548 3561 3375 J 3347	3432 3253 3404 3455 3457 3375 J 3376
Ramathpur	228	114 P	5045 J
Ajail	229	104 P	3192
Ganeshpur	230	104 P	3192
Kumarbhog	231	179 J 3375 J 3475 J 3343 3394 3505 3756 307 153 Case No. 3(b) 3495	179 J 3375 J 3475 J 3377 3456 3425 3373 3372 3432 3454
Syampur	232		

Mauza name.	Jurisdiction List No.	Estate No. according to Thak or mauzawar register.	Corresponding present No.
Bhabanipur	233	178 J 3394	178 J 3456
Mukshidpur	235	....(a) 103 P	.... 5578 J
Bamanpara	236	103 P	5578 J
Chandat	237	103 P	5578 J
Radhaballabhpur	238	105 P	3430
Banagram	239	....(a) 105 P	.... 3430
Ektiarpur	240	113 P	3199
Jugalba Sonapatit	241	1035 P	....
Jugalba	242	170 J 3375 J 3505	170 J 3375 J 3425
Pathradaha	243	3374 307 3756 3343 3375 J	3378 3372 3373 3377 3375 J
Batbaria	244	153 P 170 J 3537(c) 3375 J 3505	3432 170 J 3375 J 3425
Sirajpur	245	105 P	3430
Kamalapur	246	153 P 3505 170 J	3432 3425 170 J
Gokraghat	247	105 P	3430
Jainpur	248	178 J 179 J 828 P	178 J 179 J 3445
Khoksa			394 BI also occurs.
Mirzapur	249	214 P	3435
Buzruk Mirzapur	250	....(a) 170 P	.... 3434
Padmabila	251	3495	3454 568-570 BI also occur.
Sarnaspur	252	....(a)	....
Raghunathpur	253	....(a)	....
Chak Haripur	254	....(a)	....
Santoshpur	255	....(a)	....
Padamdi	256	....(a)	....
Suiguria	258	170 J 830 P 808 P 4414(c)	170 J 3261 3253
Pathaldour	259	3554 F	3554 F
Dhusanda	260	3554 F 3495	3554 F 3454 229 BI, 228 BI, 567 BI, 566 BI also occur.
Syampur	262	1061 P, 170 P 3495 J 3548 3894 J	3434 3454 3455
Maslia	263	114 P 115 P 116 P 3340(c)	5045 J 5046 J 5047 J
Bhaduri Chak	265	....(a)	....
Baruichara	266	....(a)	....
Jhalukada	289	170 J 3561	170 J 3457

Mauza name.	Jurisdiction List No.	Estate No. according to Thak or mauzawar register.	Corresponding present No.
Simla	290	153 P	3432 711-714 Bi also occur.
Baisir	291	....(a)	....
Manikkut	292	179 J 3538(c)	179 J
Biljain	293	307 105 P	3372 3430
Paikpara	294	....(a)	....
Mirzapur		105 P	3430
Maligram .. .. .		....(a)	....
Raghunathpur .. .. .		....(a)	....
Narayanpur	297	....(a)	....
Islampur	298	105 P	3430
Ichlat	299	....(a)	....
Wichlat	300	....(a)	....
Khagarbaria	301	....(a)	....
Jotonamkhat	302	....(a)	....
Iswardi	303	103 P	5578 J
Behara	304	3547 F 3495	3547 F 3454
Daskania	305	105 P	3430

APPENDIX V.

List of Old Pabna and Jessore Tauzi numbers with present Nadia numbers.

Old Pabna No.	Present Nadia No.	Old Jessore No.	Present Nadia No.
98	3186	269	3375
102	3190	307	3372
103	5578 J	3343	3377
104	3192	3329	3399
105	3430	3347	3376
113	3199	3370	3416
	3515-19	3372	3417
	3285-89	3374	3378
114	5045J-5047J	3389	3281
122	3207	3394	3456
123	3208	3449	3392
148	3431	3455	3452
153	3432	3456	3419
154	3230	3458	3453
155	3231	3459	3280
156	3232	3461	3282
157	3233	3464	3415
158	3234	3495	3454
159	3235	3505	3425
160	2336	3548	3455
170	3434	3561	3457
213	3240	3565	3324
214	3435	3752	3374
215	3241	3756	3373
218	3438	3758	3421
788	3441	4287	3404
789	3442		
790	3443		
808	3253		
809	3384		
828	3445		
830	3261		
937	3264		
978	3450		

APPENDIX VI.

NOTIFICATIONS.

A—General.

No. 1595 T. R.—The 1st October 1917.—Under section 3 of the Bengal Survey Act 1875 (Act V of 1875) the Governor in Council is pleased to order that a survey shall be made of all lands which are comprised within the administrative boundaries of the district of Nadia (excluding the areas already surveyed in pursuance of Government Notification No. 10334 L. R., dated the 6th November 1914, published at page 2011 of Part I of the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 11th *idem*), as well as in those revenue survey mouzas comprised within the administrative boundaries of the districts of the 24-Parganas, Hooghly, Burdwan and Murshidabad which fall wholly or partly within half a mile of the high bank of the river Hooghly extending from the Naihati bridge (known as the Jubilee Bridge) up to where it leaves the boundary of the Nadia district, and that the boundaries of estates, tenures, mouzas and fields be demarcated on the lands, so to be surveyed.

L. BIRLEY,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

No. 7311 L. R.—The 6th September 1918.—In exercise of the powers conferred by section 101 (1) of the Bengal Tenancy Act 1885 (Act VIII of 1885) and with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council the Governor in Council is pleased to order that a survey shall be made and a record-of-rights prepared in respect of all lands which are comprised within the administrative boundaries of the district of Nadia (excluding the areas already surveyed in pursuance of Government Notification No. 10334 L. R., dated the 6th November 1914, published at page 2011 of Part I of the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 11th *idem*) as well as in those revenue survey mouzas comprised within the administrative boundaries of the districts of Murshidabad, Burdwan, Hooghly and the 24-Parganas which fall wholly or partly within half a mile of the high bank of the River Hooghly (also called Bhagirathi) extending from where it meets the boundary of the Nadia district down to the Naihati bridge (known as the Jubilee Bridge).

The particulars to be recorded in the survey and record-of-rights shall be the following:—
[Here follows the usual particulars.]

L. BIRLEY,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

B—Diara.

No. 785 L. R.—The 21st January 1918.—Under the powers conferred by section 3 of the Bengal Alluvion and Diluvion Act 1847 (Act IX of 1847) the Governor in Council is pleased to order that a new survey be made and new maps prepared according to such survey of the lands on both banks and in the bed of the river Bhagirathi (also called

Hooghly) from its junction with the river Ganges or Padma down to the Naihati bridge (known as the Jubilee Bridge) and lying in the districts of the 24-Parganas, Hooghly, Nadia, Burdwan and Murshidabad and also of the lands on the banks and in the beds of other rivers falling within or forming the administrative boundary of the district of Nadia, except the portion of the river Ganges or Padma covered by Notification No. 10333 L. R., dated the 6th November 1914, published at page 2011, Part I of the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 11th *idem*.

L. BIRLEY,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

No. 930 L. R.—The 25th January 1918.—Under the powers conferred by section 3 of Act IX of 1847, the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that a new survey be made and new maps be prepared according to such survey of the lands which are situated on the banks and in the bed of the rivers within, or forming the boundary of, the district of Jessore including that portion of the district which has been transferred to the district of Faridpur by virtue of Notification 2275 L. R., dated the 18th November 1913 (published at page 1740 of the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 19th November 1913) as subsequently modified by Notification No. 3606, dated the 28th March 1914 (published at page 596 of the *Calcutta Gazette* of 1st April 1914).

2. This order does not apply to the lands of which a survey has already been completed and approved by Government in Notification No. 442 T. R., dated the 2nd May 1917.

C—Jurisdiction.

No. 7874 Jur.—The 24th August 1922.—In exercise of the power conferred by the Bengal Districts Act 1864 (Bengal Act IV of 1864), and in modification of all previous notifications on the subject, it is hereby notified that:—

(1) the common boundary between the districts of Nadia and Burdwan shall be the western boundary of police-stations Kaliganj, Nikashipara, Krishnagore, Nabadwip and Santipur as defined by the Notifications Nos. 1565-68 P.I. and 1570 P.I., dated the 31st May 1921.

(2) the common boundary between the districts of Nadia, the 24-Parganas and the City of Calcutta on the one side and the districts of Hooghly, Howrah and Midnapore on the other shall be—

(a) the main stream of the river Hooghly under whatever name it is called, down to the point where it meets the straight line joining reference pillar No. I and reference pillar No. II, mentioned in the schedule to Act XV of 1919 and exclusive of the length of the river face of French Chandernagore and French Gourhati, along which there is no common boundary;

- (b) south of this the common boundary shall be conterminous with the boundaries of the Ordinary Original Civil Jurisdiction of the High Court Judicature at Fort William in Bengal as defined in the Calcutta High Court (Jurisdiction Limits) Act, 1919 XV of 1919), down to the point where the main stream of the river Hooghly meets the straight line joining reference pillars Nos. VI and mentioned in the aforesaid schedule, south of which the common boundary shall again be the main stream of the river Hooghly.

M. C. McALPIN,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Calcutta Gazette page 292 D/- the 18th February 1920).

No. 1850 Jur. D.—The 17th February 1920.—In exercise of the power conferred by the Bengal District Act, 1864 (Bengal Act IV of 1864), and in modification of so much of Home Department Notification No. 4397, dated the 13th July 1863, published at page 2016 of the Calcutta Gazette of the 15th *idem*, as relates to the common boundary between zillas Nadia and the 24-Parganas the Governor in Council is pleased to declare that the villages specified in the following schedule which were hitherto included in the zilla of Nadia shall be included in the zilla of the 24-Parganas, and the common boundary between the two zillas shall be a line following the northern boundaries of these villages:—

SCHEDULE.

Names of villages.	General jurisdiction list number of thana Chakdah.
Jaunpur	.. 132—70.
Paladaha	.. 133—71.

M. C. McALPIN,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

No. 3091 L. R.—The 22nd March 1920.—It is hereby notified that the survey carried out under the orders of Government under section 3 of the Bengal Survey Act, 1875 (Act V of 1875), and section 101 (1) of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (Act VIII of 1885), and embodied in the under noted notifications, as adopted as defining villages for the purpose of section 3 (10) (b) of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (Act VIII of 1885), in the police-station of Saktipur in the district of Murshidabad:—

1. No. 1595 T. R., dated the 1st October 1917.

2. No. 7311 L. R., dated the 6th September 1918.

M. C. McALPIN,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

No. 9355 L.R.—The 9th December 1919.—It is hereby notified that the survey carried out under the orders of Government under section 3 of the Bengal Survey Act, 1875 (Act V of 1875) and section 101 (1) of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (Act VIII of 1885) and embodied in the under noted notifications, is adopted as defining villages for the purpose of section 3 (10) (b) of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (Act VIII of 1885) in the police-stations of Nabadwip, Krishnagar, Hooghly, Balagarh, Santipur and Ranaghat in the district of Nadia:—

1. No. 1595 T. R., dated the 1st October 1917.

2. No. 7311 L. R., dated the 6th September 1918.

D—Municipal boundaries.

No. 2688M.—The 28th May 1924.—In exercise of the power conferred by sub-section (2) of section 9A of the Bengal Municipal Act, 1884 (Bengal Act III of 1884), the Governor of Bengal (Ministry of Local Self-Government) are pleased to exclude from the Nabadwip Municipality, in the district of Nadia, a local area, viz., villages Char Gadkhali and Mahisura, the boundaries of which are as follows:—

East—By the Bhagirathi river from the the point where it meets with Sahar Nadia and Char Gadkhali up to Kumira Khal, then up to the point where Kumira Khal meets the boundary of mouza Mohisura.

South—By mouza Mohisura up to its junction with the boundary of village Kalinagar, thence the boundary of said village Kalinagar to the point where it meets the old bed of the Bhagirathi river called Morgangni or Polta Khal.

West & North—By kutchra road from Samudragarh to village Mohisura up to railway bridge No. 96, thence along the railway line running north up to railway bridge No. 98, thence eastward up to the limit of mouza Gadkhali, thence northward about 6,600 feet along the western boundary of mouza Gadkhali up to the point where mouza Gadkhali meets with mouza Sahar Nadia.

2. The boundaries of the Nabadwip Municipality, after the exclusion of the said area, will be as follows:—

North—Main stream of the river Bhagirathi.

East—River Bhagirathi and mouza Gadkhali.

South—From the point of the western boundary of mouza Gadkhali about 6,600 feet south from the northern limit of mouza Gadkhali, then straight west to railway bridge No. 98, then to the south by the railway line up to bridge No. 96, thence by the kutchra road to Samudragarh up to the boundary of mouza Sreerampur in the district of Burdwan.

West—Mouza Srirampur in the district of Burdwan, the mouza Bablari Dewanganj and Sankarpur in the district of Nadia up to the junction with mouzas Rudrapara and Gangaprasad and thence straight north through mouza Sankarpur (including within the municipality the portion called Brojanagar *alias* Ramchandrapur) up to the flowing river Bhagirathi.

APPENDIX VII.

Resolution by the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, dated the 3rd February 1923. No. 1095 L. R.

In paragraph 14 of the report of the Committee appointed to consider the amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act, they dealt with the law relating to *utbandi* tenancies in the following words:—

“ We appointed a sub-committee to enquire into the question of modifying the law relating to *utbandi* tenancies, and we agree generally with the proposals which they have made for the purpose of enabling such tenancies to be converted into ordinary raiyati holdings. The *utbandi* problem, however, is a local one affecting portions of a few districts only and having little connection with the main principles underlying the general amendment Bill. We think that it will be more convenient to deal with this matter by separate legislation, and we have therefore inserted no provision relating to it in this Bill.”

The proposal therefore of the Committee is simply separate legislation dealing with the *utbandi* problem, such legislation to be for the purpose of enabling *utbandi* tenancies to be converted into ordinary raiyati holdings. A Bill has accordingly been drafted on the proposed lines with some modifications, and it is now published as annexure hereto for information and criticism, together with a statement of objects and reasons and notes on the different clauses.

2. It will be observed that the Committee's recommendation is limited to legislation for the purpose of enabling *utbandi* tenancies to be converted into ordinary raiyati holdings. It does not deal with the status or incidents of *utbandi* tenancies. Except in respect of certain minor points to which reference will be made later, the sub-committee also made no recommendations disturbing either the status or incidents of the tenancy as given in section 180 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. In these respects the draft Bill leaves the Bengal Tenancy Act intact. The question of *utbandi* has been a vexed one ever since the Bengal Tenancy Act was passed in 1885 by the Government of India containing provision for the separate treatment of such lands. At that time the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal opposed the insertion of special legislative measures towards the conservation of the *utbandi* tenancy in the Act; and a body of opinion exists opposed to the retention of such measures. On the other hand, another proposal has been made to the Government which

will have the effect of strengthening such measures for the conservation of the tenancy. This proposal is that the present law regarding the status and incidents of the *utbandi* tenancy should be amplified and that a definition of *utbandi* and the incidents of the tenancy should be categorically stated in the proposed legislation. In the opinion of the Governor in Council it must therefore now be decided, if legislation is undertaken, which of the following three alternatives should be adopted:—

- (i) to define *utbandi* and its legal incidents in greater particular in the Act and thus conserve certain definite privileges attaching to the tenancy in the Act, or
- (ii) to eliminate any special privileges attaching to the *utbandi* tenancy from the Act, or
- (iii) to leave the Act practically alone in this respect.

Whichever alternative is adopted, an Act, on the lines now proposed with necessary modifications would probably be necessary for the conversion of *utbandi* rents into ordinary rents, for Government are advised that *utbandi* rents can in any case remain legal, however the status and other incidents of the tenancy are treated. This distinction between the rent of an *utbandi* tenancy and its other incidents is of considerable importance and has not always been sufficiently appreciated.

3. The following particular proposals have been made to Government for insertion in the law in respect of the definition and incidents of the *utbandi* tenancy:—

(1) *Utbandi* is a kind of fluctuating tenancy in which the area of the tenancy as well as the rent payable for it varies from year to year according to the quantity of land actually cultivated and the crops grown in that year.

(2) An *utbandi* tenant may be either—

- (i) a tenant with occupancy right, or
- (ii) a tenant without occupancy right.

(3) An *utbandi* tenant shall not acquire occupancy right in respect of any land until he has cultivated it for twelve continuous years.

(4) When an *utbandi* tenant has acquired an occupancy right in any land in accordance with the above he shall be deemed to be a raiyat with occupancy right in respect of the same, and all the provisions of Chapter V of the Bengal Tenancy Act shall thereafter apply, provided that until an order is passed under the Bill which is now published for criticism, determining a uniform annual rent, the average of the rent which was payable during the six years immediately preceding or any shorter period for which evidence may be available, shall be considered as the rent payable for the land, irrespective of whether it is cultivated or not:

Provided also that as occupancy rights accrue in *utbandi* lands, all the lands held under the same landlord by the same raiyat in which occupancy rights have accrued and for which no uniform annual rent has been fixed may be deemed to be amalgamated into a single holding.

(5) Nothing contained in Chapter VI of the Bengal Tenancy Act shall apply to an *utbandi* tenant without occupancy right.

(6) An *utbandi* tenant without occupancy right shall be liable to pay rent for the land he actually cultivates and at such rate or rates as may be agreed upon between him and his landlord.

(7) Any land in respect of which an *utbandi* tenant has not acquired occupancy rights and which is not actually cultivated in any year shall be deemed to have reverted to the landlord.

(8) An *utbandi* tenant who has not acquired occupancy right in respect of any land shall not have any right to continue the cultivation of that land or otherwise keep it in his possession after the expiry of the period for which the lands may have been taken, and where there has been no such agreement, after the expiry of three agricultural years commencing with the agricultural year in which the tenant began to cultivate the land.

The proposals of the sub-committee, other than those embodied in the draft Bill, which touch on the status or legal incidents of the tenancy are as follows:—

(1) When an *utbandi* tenant has acquired occupancy rights in any fields by twelve years' continuous possession, he shall be deemed to hold those fields as an occupancy holding to which all the provisions of Chapter V apply.

(2) For the purposes of section 27 of the Bengal Tenancy Act the rent paid or assessed

for such fields in the agricultural year 1329 or any other year which the Local Government may notify in the gazette for any area shall be presumed to be the fair and equitable rent, pending the fixing of a uniform annual rent under the proposed Bill, *i.e.*, that the *utbandi* rates in force in any particular year should continue.

(3) No *char*, homestead, *udbastu*, bamboo or orchard lands should be deemed to be *utbandi* lands within the meaning of section 180 of the Bengal Tenancy Act.

4. The Governor in Council, before deciding to legislate or introducing any Bill in Council on the subject of *utbandi*, would be glad of the opinions of any persons interested therein on—

- (1) the draft Bill annexed,
- (2) the alternative proposals or any modification thereof given in paragraph 2 of this resolution, and
- (3) the proposals detailed in paragraph 3 of this resolution.

All opinions should reach Government by the 1st April 1923.

By order of the Governor in Council,

M. C. McALPIN,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

THE BENGAL TENANCY (UTBANDI AMENDMENT) BILL, 1923.

A

BILL.

to supplement and amend the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885, in order to provide means whereby a uniform annual money rent may be fixed for lands held under the custom of Utbandi and to make further provision in respect of such lands.

Preamble.

WHEREAS it is expedient to supplement and amend the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885, in order to provide means whereby a uniform annual money-rent may be fixed for lands held under the custom of *utbandi*, and to make such other provisions as hereinafter appear in respect of lands for which a uniform annual rent has been so fixed;

And whereas the previous sanction of the Governor General under sub-section (3) of section 80A of the Government of India Act has been obtained to the passing of this Act;

It is hereby enacted as follows:—

Short title and extent.

1. (1) This Act may be called the Bengal Tenancy (Utbandi Amendment) Act, 1923.

(2) It extends to the whole of Bengal.

Insertion of new sections 180A and 180B in Act VIII of 1885.

2. After section 180 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885, the following sections shall be inserted, namely:—

“180A. (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in section 180 when a raiyat holds or has held land under the custom of *utbandi*, either the landlord or the raiyat may apply to have a uniform annual rent determined for the land.

Fixing of uniform annual rent in respect of *utbandi* lands.

5 & 6 Geo.
V., c. 61;
6 & 7 Geo.
V., c. 37;
9 & 10 Geo.
V., c. 101.

- (2) The application shall include at the discretion of the applicant either—
- (a) all the lands held under the custom of *utbandi* by the same tenant under the same landlord in which the tenant has acquired a right of occupancy whether under the provisions of section 183A or otherwise, or
 - (b) all the lands held under the same landlord by the tenant which the tenant has cultivated under the custom of *utbandi* at any time during the preceding period of six years if he is the last person to have cultivated the land and has not acquired occupancy rights therein, or
 - (c) both.
- (3) The application may be made to the Collector or to a Subdivisional Officer or to a Revenue Officer appointed by the Local Government under the designation of Settlement Officer or Assistant Settlement Officer for the purpose of making a survey and record-of-rights under Chapter X or to any other officer specially authorised by the Local Government.
- (4) The case may be determined by the officer who receives the application, or the Collector or the Settlement Officer may transfer it for disposal to some other officer competent under sub-section (3) to receive applications.
- (5) The officer receiving the application or the officer to whom the case is transferred as the case may be shall cause notice to be given in the prescribed manner to the opposite party, and shall fix a date for the determination of the case.
- (6) If the application refers to lands in which the tenant has not acquired occupancy rights, the officer may reject it in whole or in part in respect of such lands, if he is satisfied in view of all the circumstances of the case that it is unreasonable to grant it:
- Provided that a refusal shall be no bar to proceedings being again taken under this section after five years from the date of refusal if circumstances have in the meantime changed.
- (7) If the application is not wholly rejected, the officer shall then determine the sum to be paid as a uniform annual rent, and also in the case of lands in which the tenant has not acquired occupancy rights, a premium to be paid to the landlord, and he shall order that the tenant shall, in lieu of paying the rent under custom of *utbandi*, pay the sum so determined and the premium, if any.
- (8) In making the determination of the sum to be paid as rent, the officer shall have regard to—
- (a) the average money rent payable by occupancy raiyats for land of a similar description and with similar advantages in the vicinity;
 - (b) the average of the rents actually paid or payable to the landlord on account of the lands during the previous six years or during any shorter period for which evidence may be available;
 - (c) the rates for lands of a similar description and with similar advantages in the vicinity held under the custom of *utbandi*;
 - (d) the rent payable for lands of a similar description and with similar advantages in the vicinity by raiyats who formerly paid their rents for those lands under the custom of *utbandi* but whose rents have been converted into uniform annual rents whether under this section or by agreement or otherwise;
 - (e) the charges incurred by the landlord in respect of irrigation under the custom of *utbandi* and the arrangements made on settlement of the uniform annual rent for continuing those charges;
 - (f) the rules laid down in this Act for the guidance of the Civil Courts in enhancing or reducing rents on account of the holdings of occupancy raiyats;

(g) any sum agreed to by the parties to be paid as money rent:

Provided that the officer shall in no case determine a rent which is unfair or inequitable.

- (9) The premium to be paid to the landlord in the case of lands in which the tenant has not acquired occupancy rights shall be three times the rent, or if the application is made under sub-clause (c) of sub-section (2), three times the portion of the rent determined under sub-section (7) on account of such lands:

Provided that the determining officer may, on the application of the tenant, if he considers that it is a hardship to the tenant to pay a premium, commute the same by ordering that, in lieu of the payment of a premium, the uniform annual rent or portion of the rent, as the case may be, on account of the lands in respect of which the premium was so payable, be increased by a sum equal to 20 per cent. of such rent or portion of rent.

- (10) The order shall be in writing, shall state the grounds on which it is made, and shall, in the absence of any special reasons to the contrary recorded in writing, take effect from the beginning of the agricultural year next after the date on which it is made.

- (11) The officer may, on the application of the tenant, order that the premium shall be paid by instalments not exceeding three in number, that the first instalment shall be paid at the beginning of the agricultural year in which the rent settled under sub-section (7) takes effect and that one of remaining instalments shall be paid at the beginning of each of the succeeding agricultural years until the premium is paid in full.

- (12) The premium or the instalments thereof shall be payable and recoverable as rent, but interest shall only be awarded in respect of such instalments as are not paid by the date fixed under sub-section (11).

- (13) The order shall be subject to appeal in the manner provided in section 109A, unless the application has been made in the course of proceedings under Part II of Chapter X, in which case the provisions of sections 104G and 104H shall apply.

- (14) Notwithstanding anything contained elsewhere in this Act or in any other law, no suit shall be brought or application made in any court in respect of any order passed under this section, save as is provided in this section.

“ 180B. Whenever an order under section 180A is passed determining a uniform annual rent for any lands, such Lands in respect of which a uniform annual rent has been fixed under section 180A to cease to be *utbandi* lands. the custom of *utbandi* with effect from the date from which the new rent takes effect, and the tenant shall hold them as an occupancy raiyat from the date of the order.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.

The *utbandi* tenancy is a peculiar tenancy, mainly confined to the districts of Nadia and Murshidabad. It is not governed by the ordinary law of landlord and tenant but by section 180 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, which retards the acquisition of occupancy rights and restricts the application of ordinary raiyati rights, in any part of the country where the custom of *utbandi* prevails, in lands ordinarily let out under that custom and for the time being let out under that custom. The tenancy has been described as follows: “The holding is not fixed either in area or in position but consists of a variable parcel or parcels of lands ascertained by a measurement or inspection made at least once a year. The rent is fixed for each year or season in respect

of the parcel or parcels of land which has been ascertained by the said measurement or inspection to have been during the year or season in question in the cultivation of the raiyat.” The system has, however, now largely developed in practice into a species of settled cultivation, in which it is undesirable to restrict the acquisition of ordinary raiyati rights or to retard the acquisition of occupancy rights. A change in the law is therefore called for, and the Committee who were appointed by Government in 1921 to consider the amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885, recommended that the law should be so modified as to enable *utbandi* tenancies to be converted into ordinary raiyati holdings by the commutation of *utbandi* rents into ordinary raiyati rents somewhat on the lines of section 40 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. In view also

of the fact that the *utbandi* problem is a local one, affecting portions of a few districts only and having little connection with the main principles underlying the general Amendment Bill proposed by them, they recommended that the matter should be dealt with by separate legislation. The present Bill has accordingly been drafted separately on the basis of section 40 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. The notes on clause 2 explain any material departure from that section.

Notes on clause 2.

Section 180A (2).—This deals with the lands which can or must be included in the application for conversion of the *utbandi* rents. It makes provision for the inclusion of lands in which occupancy rights have accrued separately from those in which they have not accrued, because in the second case it may not be equitable to determine any ordinary uniform rent at all, whilst there is no reason in the first case why any application for conversion should be refused. It has also been provided that, in the case of lands in which the raiyat has not acquired occupancy rights, all those lands which the raiyat has cultivated under the same landlord under the custom of *utbandi* at any time during the preceding period of six years, if he is the last person to have cultivated the lands, must be included in the application. This is intended to save the landlord from having the worst lands thrown on his hands by the tenant making a selection only of the best lands he has cultivated during a cycle of cultivation.

Section 180A (4).—This provides for the transfer of the application to another officer for disposal.

Section 180A (5).—This provides for the initial procedure in dealing with the application. It is expected that most applications will be heard locally.

Section 180A (6).—This proposed sub-section provides for the differential treatment of applications relating to lands in which the raiyat has not acquired occupancy rights referred to in the note under proposed sub-section 180A-(2).

Section 180A (7).—This proposed sub-section introduces the payment of a premium for conversion in the case of lands in which the raiyat has not acquired occupancy rights. This is warranted by the proposal that under section 180B he should obtain occupancy rights in such lands.

Section 180A (8).—This sub-section deals with the considerations to which the officer determining the sum to be paid as rent shall have regard on the lines of section 40 of the Act. It is also proposed under section 180A (8) (d) that other rents which have been converted into uniform annual rents should be taken into consideration. Further, in view of the fact that *utbandi* rents are money-rents, and not the produce-rents contemplated by section 40, it is proposed in sub-section 180A (8) (f) that regard should be had to the rules laid down in this Act for the guidance of the civil courts in enhancing or reducing rents on account of the holdings of occupancy raiyats. Proposed sub-section 180A (8) (g) provides

that any sum agreed to by the parties to be paid as money-rent should be taken into consideration.

Section 180A (9).—It is proposed, in order to simplify the procedure, that the premium should be a fixed multiple of the rent. For the present three times the rent has been inserted in the Bill. As, however, the compulsory payment of a premium might prevent raiyats applying for conversion, it is proposed, where it would be a hardship on the tenant to pay a premium, that he should in lieu thereof pay an additional sum of 20 per cent. to be added to the rent determined for the land in which he has not acquired occupancy rights.

Section 180A (11).—For similar reasons it is proposed that the premium should be made payable in instalments not exceeding three.

Section 180A (12).—This sub-section makes the premium payable and recoverable as rent.

Section 180A (13).—This sub-section provides for appeals.

Section 180A (14).—This prevents the proceedings under this section being upset in any way, except as provided by the section.

Section 180B.—It is proposed that when an *utbandi* rent has been converted into a uniform annual rent for any lands, such lands should cease to be deemed to be held under the custom of *utbandi*, and the raiyat should hold them as an occupancy raiyat.

APPENDIX VII-A.

Report on the system of *Utbandi*, by A. H. Kemm with specimen *Utbandi* Khatians.

The important facts which have come to light in connection with *utbandi* during the Nadia settlement operation are:—

1. The existence of a large number of tenancies which pass under the name of *utbandi*, but do not exhibit its essential characteristics. Since it is the latter and not the former criterion which must determine whether section 180 of the Bengal Tenancy Act should apply to such tenancies, the settlement staff have had to divide them into two classes of (a) nominal and (b) real *utbandi*.

2. The above distinction had been recognized by few landlords, the majority of whom either denied all occupancy rights to *utbandi* tenants or applied indiscriminately the limitation, imposed by section 180 on the accrual of occupancy rights, to real *utbandi* tenancies to which the section properly applied and to nominal *utbandi* tenancies to which it did not.

3. On the other hand, tenants have not always realized the precarious nature of their interest in real *utbandi* holdings. In many instances they have been accustomed for generations to return without interference to the same plots after the interval of fallowing. It was only in very rare cases that they could prove this custom as a legal right, but throughout the district many landlords did not in practice exercise their right of interference with this customary re-entry. According to a strict interpretation of the law, however, the position was fairly clear; unless he had

acquired rights of occupancy, as soon as a tenant ceased to cultivate it, the land reverted to the possession of the landlord and the tenant retained no lien upon it. But in many parts of the district, legal theory was contrary to local sentiment and usage, particularly in the west, where *utbandi* plots are treated as heritable.

4. The system originally associated with poor soil, cyclical fallowing, and unsettled cultivation has undergone changes, where these conditions no longer exist. For instance, many plots are now never left fallow, on the other hand tenants sometimes pay rent for them when they are. Both these peculiarities were found to be consistent with the persistence of *real utbandi*, because the process of annual measurement and assessment, though it has been modified, may be retained and the limits of the holding may change.

5. In the course of determining what rents were legal, it was found that the system gave great scope for unjustifiable enhancements, particularly by devious manipulations of rates, and standard of measurement.

6. Statistics have now been collected which illustrate the heavy incidents of rent on land held under the system.

Correction slip 20 to the Technical Rules and Instructions to the Settlement Department described the tenancy and the essential characteristics of *real utbandi*. These were ascertained after detailed examination of—

- (1) the early reports on the system;*
- (2) the somewhat mysterious change in the draft Tenancy Bill which introduced section 180 into the Act itself;
- (3) the rulings which High Courts have enunciated from time to time;
- (4) the opinion of Standing Counsel;
- (5) the results of conferences with representatives of landlords and tenants; and
- (6) references by Government to certain non-official bodies such as the British Indian Association.†

In addition to this the Settlement Officer referred from time to time, for the orders of Government, the practical difficulties which he found in applying the tests laid down in the Technical Rules for the differentiation of real from nominal *utbandi* and the manner in which he proposed to apply them. In this correspondence as well as in the discussions preliminary to the issue of the correction slips in the Technical Rules, the theoretical and legal peculiarities of *utbandi* tenancies has been elaborately reviewed. I propose, therefore, to omit any detailed reference to the previous reports on *utbandi* to refer only to—

- (i) the history of the introduction of section 180 into the Act since its original

justification is a factor worth considering in answer to the question whether it ought to be retained, and to confine myself otherwise to;

- (ii) a description of the method of applying the tests laid down in the Technical Rules to the differentiation of nominal and real *utbandi* and the form of the record which these methods have produced;
- (iii) a note on the so-called right of re-entry;
- (iv) a description of the area dealt with by the Nadia Settlement and the distribution of *utbandi* over it;
- (v) an examination of the incidence of rent on lands held under the system;
- (vi) a description of the abuses of the system and its effect on landlord tenant and cultivation; and
- (vii) proposed legislation :—
 - (a) conversion,
 - (b) amendment of the existing law.

Throughout, the report refers only to that part of Nadia which has been dealt with by this settlement.

I.—The History of the introduction of section 180 of the Bengal Tenancy Act.

The reasons for placing *utbandi* raiyats under the special disabilities of section 180 in 1885 are quite intelligible. Though several officers had condemned the system, the general picture presented by the earlier reports showed the landlord and the tenant as parties on more or less equal terms. There is a suggestion of a surplus of land from which the tenant selects new plots as those he previously occupied become exhausted by cultivation. To allow a settled raiyat to obtain permanent interests in a plot, the moment he cultivated it would have been somewhat anomalous in such conditions. But to secure occupancy rights to a tenant as soon as he became associated with a particular plot for a reasonable length of time would seem quite in keeping with the conditions pictured and the general spirit of the Act—hence the 12 years' possession rule. Unfortunately the picture of the earlier reports no longer represents the economic conditions of the present day with its growing pressure on the soil and its increased competition for land. Legislation designed for one set of facts works harshly where it has now to apply to another.

Though the considerations referred to above might be quoted as justifying the inclusion of section 180 in the Act, it was not they but the needs of the indigo industry which was really responsible for its insertion.

At the time the Bengal Tenancy Bill was under discussion, the view held by Government and recorded in paragraph 8 of its letter No. 972 (T.R.), dated the 27th September 1883, to the Government of India, was that no special provisions in regard to *utbandi* lands were necessary; the conclusions then arrived at by Government were reiterated in paragraphs 79 and 80 of the letter No. 1906 (T.R.),

[* Revenue Department L. R. file No. 8-M-5 (1) of November 1902, and file No. 8-M-35 (1-5) of 1903, Nos. 18-25.]

† Revenue Secretary's letter No. 8823 L.R., dated the 22nd November 1919.

dated the 15th September 1884, to the Government of India, in which the opinion was expressed that *utbandi* lands should be treated like *halhashili* lands, *i.e.*, that they should be treated as ordinary raiyati holdings. So section 214 of the Bill ran as follows:—

“Nothing in this Act shall affect the condition, customary or otherwise, under which land is held on either of the systems known as *utbandi* and the *halhashila* system.”

The Select Committee appointed to consider the draft Bill, however, took a different view. Paragraph 56 of the further report reads as follows:—

“We have in section 180 put *utbandi* lands on the footing on which *char* lands were placed by section 213 of Bill No. 11, that is to say, no occupancy rights will be acquirable in them until they have been held for 12 continuous years and meantime the tenant will be bound to pay whatever rent may be agreed on between him and his landlord. We have further provided that Chapter VI of the Bill shall not apply to such lands.”

Mr. Amir Ali dissented in the following terms:—

“I demur also to the provision embodied in the Bill regarding *utbandi* tenures. This provision seems to me to be in direct contradiction to the views of the Secretary of State and the Government of India that “shifting” should be put an end to. The *utbandi* provisions recognized and legalized the eviction of a raiyat at the caprice of the landlord. I had no objection to the proposals of the Bengal Government to allow land on the *utbandi* system to be a matter for contract, but I have strong objection to the *utbandi* raiyat being left as this Bill leaves him without any practical protection whatever.”

In singling out *utbandi* tenants for special disabilities in the matter of acquiring occupancy rights, the committee's views conformed to those expressed by two among the District Officers who were consulted. They were Sir C. C. Stevens of the 24-Parganas, who did not even advocate the accrual of occupancy rights which section 180 provided, and Mr. Taylor of Nadia, who considered that the system was beneficial to the raiyats.

The weight, however, which one may suppose the Committee should have attached to these views was to some extent diminished by the fact that Sir C. C. Stevens was speaking not of Nadia, but of the 24-Parganas, where he notes that the *utbandi* area was daily becoming less and less; while Mr. Taylor's report appeared to be at variance with previous expressions of his opinion in 1882, in which he recommended the abolition of *utbandi* in *khas mahals* on the ground that this would extend cultivation and improve agriculture.

What doubtless gave the Committee the impetus in the direction they took was the indigo interest. It is unnecessary to go into details, but the *utbandi* system was peculiarly acceptable to the indigo planters, not only because it gave them the close control over the raiyats, which was essential to secure the cultivation of special crop, but because the *shifting* of tenants fitted in with the system of rotation of crops which was a feature of

indigo cultivation. At the time of the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act the indigo interest was still strong in the districts; it was also strong on the Committee itself. It is more than a matter of conjecture that the special disabilities of the *utbandi* raiyat were introduced into the Act under the influence of Mr. Griffith Evans, who filled an important law office under the Crown at the time of the passing of the Act, who was a member of the Select Committee which considered the draft, and who publicly advocated the interests of the indigo industry in his speeches in Council. He was related by marriage to the Hills, one of the biggest indigo families of Nadia.

II.—The differentiation of nominal and real *utbandi*.

The Technical Rules correction slip which guided the settlement staff read as follows:—

The “holding is not fixed either in area or in position but consists of a variable parcel or parcels of land ascertained by a measurement or inspection made at least once a year. The rent is paid for each year or season in respect of the parcel or parcels of land which has been ascertained by the measurement or inspection to have been during the year or season in question, in the cultivation of the raiyat. This is a legal system of raiyati tenancy. The two essential features of the system are:—

- (a) the fluctuating character of the lands in the “holding,” and
- (b) the measurement or inspection made at least once a year, with a view to the assessment of rent.

The system has several names one of the most common being “*utbandi*.”

I need not refer to the cases where the tests could be applied without difficulty, that is, where the limits of the holding were admitted to be fixed, or the landlord made no pretence of maintaining a system of measurement. But as the distinction between nominal and real is only presumptively correct pending decisive judicial decision, as it is an important factor in considering proposals for legislation and as the border line cases are most typical of the conditions which differ from those envisaged in the earlier reports of the system, it will be as well to describe in detail the lines on which the tests were applied to the less easily defineable types and also the characteristics of the nominal *utbandi* tenancies which have been divided off from the main body.

Two factors obscured the precise classification:—

- (1) Tenants were often found to be paying rent for fallow land and claiming a right of re-entry in the plots they had perviously left for fallowing. Both of these peculiarities pointed to a holding of fixed limits which could not be *utbandi*, yet where they were also accompanied by instances of part surrender, it was clear that this did satisfy the test of variation in the limits of the holding,

(2) The different methods of assessment and measurement were followed with varying degrees of simplicity and efficiency and it was difficult to determine which of them passed the test of "an annual measurement and assessment." The Settlement Officer reported these peculiarities at the end of the first attestation season and the following account is compiled from his reports:—

The view envisaged in the earlier reports is of an ebb and flow over an infertile tract, and the landlord appears in the picture as an active agent busied in keeping pace with the movement and translating it into bighas and rates and rent in his assessment papers.

Now it was not uncommon to find that in the matter of abatement of rent for fallow land the initiative had passed from the landlord, but also that under certain circumstances rent was being realized for fallow land. The system of inspection in order to ascertain the amount of cultivated land seldom produces a record of fact and in some areas practically collapsed. As might be expected, it is in areas where the fertility of the soil is sufficient to admit of settled cultivation or where the pressure on the soil is sufficiently keen to induce tenants to pay rent for land even when fallow, that we find the landlords exchanging initiative for passivity and the traditional characteristics of *utbandi* being effaced. The custom of a raiyat taking the landlord's previous permission to cultivate at the beginning of each season has died out. But as the converse of that it is sometimes found that in a fertile tract landlords insist as a condition of abatement that the raiyat should intimate to him land cultivated in one season which he does not intend to cultivate in the coming season in order that the landlord may have time to let the land to another raiyat. A raiyat failing to do this must pay rent for the land though it be fallow. Another variety of circumstances under which raiyats are found to be paying rent for fallow land is where raiyats, either on account of the intrinsic value of the soil or of comparative pressure upon it, prefer to pay rent for it when fallow to running the risk of its being given to another. Both the examples cited are cases where the *utbandi* system is no longer justifiable and automatically tends to break down.

Such tenancies differed from the earlier views of *utbandi* on which the existing law, so far as it had been expressed in rulings, was based and some might perhaps have been classed straight away as real *utbandi*. On the other hand, in order to avoid a contentious records it was felt safer not to rely on the payment of rent for fallow land, but to subordinate it, to the broader question of (1) the other incidence of the tenancy, and (2) the attitude of the landlord. As regards (1) it is an essential incident of a real *utbandi* tenancy that the raiyat has the right of surrendering any part of his holding which he no longer wants to keep and in such an event is relieved of paying rent for it. This is quite essential and is really a development of the traditional incident of the automatic abatement of rent for land which on inspection the landlord finds to be fallow. The principle is the same,

but the landlord has receded from his more active rôle. Such a principle does not give authority to the landlord to collect rent for fallow *utbandi* lands. It only means that the tenant, if he wants certain land to be reckoned as fallow for the purpose of assessment, must go the right way about it.

So, in differentiating between an *utbandi* tenancy and one that had definitely passed out of that category, officers were directed to look rather to this part surrender as an essential ingredient of real *utbandi* than to the automatic relief of fallow land from assessment by field-to-field inspection. At the same time such a formula did not satisfy all the conditions of the case. It covered the traditionally fluctuating character of the *utbandi* tenancy, but it did not satisfy the second condition, *viz.*, that the onus, so to speak, is on the landlord by some definite reaction on his part to ascertain the amount of land under cultivation.

The rules laid down as an essential feature "the measurement or inspection made at least once a year with a view to the assessment of rent." The inspections never record the exact state of things. They are executed by a corrupt staff who often have to pay the landlord for the privilege of conducting them. The issue is a chitta prepared after haggling with the tenants and the passage of pecuniary gratification from one side to the other. In the illusory character of these chittas there are different degrees, varying with the stability of the cultivation. Where the land is comparatively fertile and scarcely needs fallowing, one year's chitta is prepared in landlord's cutchery from the last year's and a few changes may be made on the application of the tenants to the cutchery. Formally, however, the *utbandi* amin goes to the village with a copy of the previous year's chitta and though he may not go to the field, he goes through a sort of informal attestation (*mokabila* as it is locally named) with the tenant and the help of the landlord's local servant (called *halsuna*) who is supposed to know what land each tenant has cultivated. These annual or "tapashi" chittas, as they are called, are based on what is known as the *ekandaj* chitta. At indefinite intervals of from 5 to 30 years the landlord arranges for the detailed survey of the village plot by plot. This survey is prepared by actual measurement. The annual chittas are copies of the last "*ekandaj*" chitta, but in the margin of each is noted the crops grown in each plot, the possessor's name and the plots that are fallow (fallow for the purpose of assessment), *khatians* are then prepared showing the total area found in each tenant's possession, the plot numbers and the rent assessed.

I have said above that the illusory character of these annual chittas varies almost indefinitely. The degree of genuine inspection in each case and the circumstances of their preparation are unascertainable with any degree of accuracy. Though we have travelled far from a scrupulous assessment of rent on the area found to be cultivated after an equally scrupulous inquiry, it seemed right to recognize that in the chagging and decadent character of the system a landlord may still

claim to have made good his intention of retaining land as *utbandi* if—

- (1) he retains an ekandaj chitta made by actual field-to-field measurement;
- (2) he uses annual chittas up to date based upon the ekandaj chitta;
- (3) the rent demand of the tenants is liable to come under annual review according to the amount of land he retains purporting to have been somehow ascertained and embodied in the chitta.

Such tenancies, therefore, provided they exhibited also the right of part surrender, which was the test of the first essential, namely, fluctuating nature of the holding, were considered also to have satisfied the second of "measurement and inspection once a year" and were classed as real *utbandi*.

In his general instructions to attestation officers working in the last two blocks, the Settlement Officer cited three main types of nominal *utbandi* tenancies. A copy of this section of the general instructions is given at the end of the report and reference to them will show the different characteristics of the various kinds of nominal *utbandi* met with. I may mention that type III was found to be extremely rare. So much for the lines on which the tests were applied.

The next point is the result of the application. Section 180, Bengal Tenancy Act, applies to "a raiyat who in any part of the country, where the custom of *utbandi* prevails, holds ordinarily let under that custom and for the time being let under that custom, etc."

The procedure is, therefore, a preliminary classification of the tenancy as "nominal" or "real *utbandi*" to see whether the 12-year rule has to be applied to the tenancy at all. If it turns out to be real *utbandi*, each of the plots has to be considered and classified as "those ordinarily held under the custom" and those "not ordinarily so held," again in order to see if the 12-year rule has to be applied. Finally to those "ordinarily so held," the 12-year rule must be applied to determine if occupancy rights have accrued. The plot may fall into either of the branches illustrated below:—

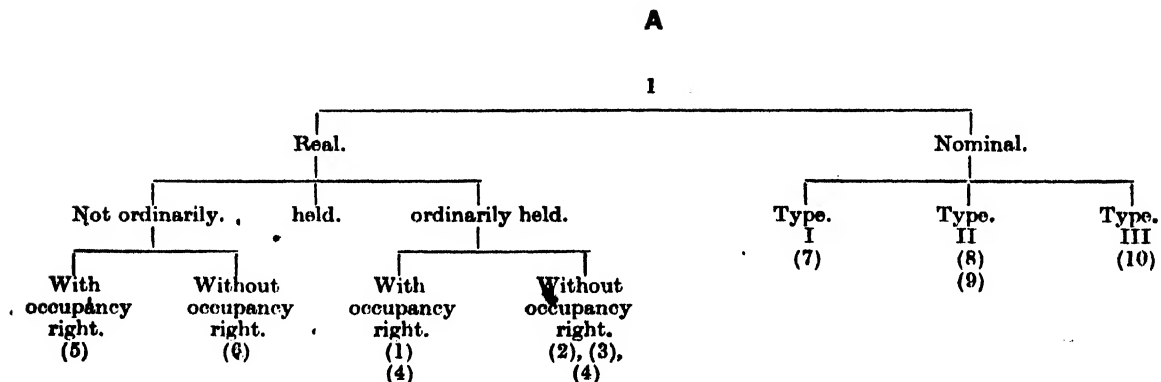
III.—The claim to the right at re-entry.

As I have said, one of the tests of *utbandi* is the variation or otherwise of the limits of the holdings. This was a very vexed question. Two extreme cases and two intermediate cases will illustrate the difficulty:—

(1) For the purpose of indigo cultivation we found the landlord in a few cases letting out tracts of land in strips running, say, east and west one year; the next year his land would be let out in strips running north and south. Whether this is done in the interests of cultivation or with some ulterior motive it is clear that the association of a tenant with any of his plots cannot extend beyond one year. There is no question of "no variation in the limits of holding" viewed over a series of years, because even the identity of the holding cannot be said to persist for more than one.

(2) At the other end of the scale we find cases where, though there is abatement of rent for fallow land and a system of measurement to ascertain it, tenants return after the period of fallowing to the same plots they cultivated before: they never pay salami, or obtain specific permission, to do so, and no instance is even known of a tenant surrender one plot and of its being let out to another raiyat. The right of re-entry is definitely established. This is "halhasila" nominal *utbandi* and occupancy rights accrue in the ordinary way.

(3) One intermediate type is very close to the last. It was extremely common in the west of the district which I describe as block III in section IV. It occurs where the soil needs frequent rest and there is competition for tenants rather than land. The tenant again takes no specific permission to return to his old land after fallowing and pays no salami to do so. He has been known to transfer his plots by sale and the landlord to put them up and to buy them in auction. The holding made up of the fallow and the cultivated land is heritable and the land is never taken for a fixed period. Everything points to a holding of fixed limits at any rate if viewed over a series of years. But if the landlord can prove instances where tenants have surrendered individual plots or where plots have been taken from one tenant and let out without opposition to another, the limits of the holding are capable of variation, and in law it is real *utbandi* subject to section 180.



The reference numbers refer to specimen khatians of each category which are submitted along with the report.

(4) The other intermediate type is one in which the limits of the holding are not effaced every year as in (1); nor are so nearly rigid as in (3), but in which part surrender and deliberate shifting of a tenant from one plot to another occurs more or less frequently accordingly as increased competition for land or the policy of the landlord suggests. This, too, is of course real utbandi. Except where shifting is general, the tenants claimed the right of re-entry in this type as well as in the last; as the whole classification is rather indeterminate, no statistics are available to show the extent of a genuine belief in the right of re-entry. In all the last three types abatement of rent for fallow land is the tenant's legal right, because it is real utbandi. In practice he may not avail himself of this if he wants to keep a lien on the land.

The tenants' claim to the abatement of rent for fallow land in real utbandi tenancies was contested by the landlords, but Government ruled against them in Revenue Secretary's letter No. 8823, to the Honorary Secretary, British Indian Association, dated Calcutta, the 22nd November 1919.

The landlords also vigorously oppose the tenants' claim to the right of re-entry. On historical grounds they contended that utbandi was khas khamar land. As regards this the Settlement Officer wrote:—

"Nadia has long ago been broken into definite fields bounded by 'ails.' Cultivation does not take place by ploughing in a vast internally undifferentiated utbandi 'math'. Nor is it true of the system today that there is in each estate a definite area of unappropriated landlord's khas land which he has always let out in utbandi. There is no distinction historically maintained between utbandi and jamai land. On the one hand utbandi land is contracting by the leasing out of land in jama and on the other it is extending by the absorption by landlords of jama land and releasing of this in utbandi, and there is no reason to suppose that this process is new or that it is not as old as the utbandi custom itself."

On legal grounds the landlords relied on Beni Madhab Chakravarty *versus* Bhuban Mohan Biswas (Law Journal, Calcutta, 393) and other earlier cases, contending that the tenant's connection with the land ceased when it became patit and he could not count that period towards his 12 years' continuous possession. The correct view of the law was not absolutely clear, because even in Beni Madhab's case the language of the Judges showed that they were reluctant to define the incidents of utbandi with any exactness and an earlier case of 1873 "*Premamunda Ghosh versus Surendra Nath Ray*" (W.R., XX, 329) was against the landlords. The balance of opinion, however, lay in their favour and though not convinced of its justice the Settlement Officer reluctantly agreed to enter on real utbandi khatians the remark "the land when fallow reverts to the khas possession of the landlord." The reason was that we had to record existing facts and in some cases they were difficult to square with the original departmental view: from the nature of the system, the tenant had no means of translating into specific acts his claim to carry

possession of the lands over the period they were left fallow, while some landlords seized the opportunity to strengthen their position by letting out the grazing rights on fallow lands.

At the same time we felt that such an entry in the record was opposed to the intentions of those who framed section 180. They could surely not have meant that occupancy rights would be for ever barred in utbandi lands, which is what would happen unless land was continuously cultivated, an hypothesis which was inconsistent with the view of utbandi cultivation prevalent at the time.

I have said that I believe the intention of those who framed the Act must have been to confer occupancy right on anyone who was identified with the cultivation of a particular piece of land for a reasonably long period. There may be two views about this, but there can be no difference of opinion that such is the spirit of the rest of the Bengal Tenancy Act and it has been emphasized in the recent proposals for amendment.

The fact that the landlords have abused the system and the keener competition for land has changed the conditions for which the Council of 1885 was legislating is a further argument in favour of giving the tenant the right of re-entry. That is to provide that 12 years' possession shall be taken to include the necessary periods of fallowing.

The landlord's objection that to do so is contrary to the existing law disappears when it is a question of amending it. The only two factors to be considered are (1) equity, and (2) practicability. As regards the first the landlord's contention is that to concede to the tenant the right to abatement of rent for fallow land and yet give occupancy rights in it is to put him in an absurdly preferential position. He would be better off than an ordinary occupancy raiyat. There is a good deal to be said for this view, but not very much when the existing rates of rent, which landlords have been able to force up under the system of utbandi, are considered.

This may be seen from a comparison of the rent demand on an ordinary occupancy raiyat with that of an utbandi raiyat if the latter were given occupancy rights by counting his period of fallowing and still retained abatement of rent for land not cultivated.

As Nadia jamai rates are said to be low, I take for comparison a Jessore raiyat of a normal subdivision, Jhenidah. It must be remembered that in Jessore the soil, and its return, therefore, is better than in Nadia, especially where it requires fallowing. On the other hand, the Jessore occupancy raiyat would have paid an initial salami for his raiyati. For 2 acres the Jessore raiyat pays Rs. 4-11-10. The utbandi raiyat, we may suppose has also 2 acres, one of which lies fallow, and he gets abatement of rent for this, but as the average "aus" rate in Nadia is Rs. 4-8-8 per acre, this will be his annual rent demand and if he happens to have a house or a special crop on any part of the 2 acres his rent will not be appreciably lower, if it is not more than the Jessore raiyats'. On the whole there are some very strong reasons, legal and equitable for the few, that one necessary change in the law is to provide that

12 years' continuous possession shall be taken to include the necessary periods of fallowing. The question of practicability I reserve for discussion under the section "proposals for legislation."

IV.—Description of the area dealt with by the Nadia Settlement and the distribution of utbandi over it.

It is not of course possible to show on a map the actual site of utbandi cultivation, because so far from being confined to compact blocks of country it is interspersed in every village in which it occurs with jamai lands. An attempt has been made in the accompanying map to indicate its distribution by drawing to scale in each thana a circle which represents the exact area held in that thana under nominal and real utbandi together. The sector of the circle coloured red is the area held under nominal, coloured green, that held under real utbandi. The dark shades of each colour is the area in which occupancy rights have accrued, the light shades that in which they have not. It is to be noted that the area held under utbandi is contrasted with the total area of the thana, which includes of course land that never is and never could be let out for cultivation and in the west of the district the amount of such unculturable land is considerable.

The extent to which land requires fallowing is an important factor in the distribution of the system. Map II shows in graduated colours the percentage of fallow land to land capable of cultivation.

The district falls naturally into four blocks which differ in the distribution of utbandi and the peculiarities it exhibits. Starting in the north-east corner—

Block I.

Contains those thanas through which the main line of the Eastern Bengal Railway passes or which fall to the east of it:—

- (1) Khoksha.
- (2) Kumarkhali.
- (3) Kushtia.
- (4) Mirpur.
- (5) Alamdanga.
- (6) Chuadanga.
- (7) Jibannagar.
- (8) Krishnaganj.
- (9) Damurhuda.
- (10) Hanskhali.

This area, generally speaking, is the most fertile part of the district and as pressure on the soil is not much heavier than in the central area the condition of the people is distinctly better. In the western and southern thanas the soil, though light, is not so easily exhausted as on the western side of Nadia and can, in consequence, grow more of exhausting crops such as jute and sugarcane; periodic fallowing, therefore, is not common. Towards the east in the thanas of Kushtia, Khoksha and Kumarkhali, the soil becomes progressively heavier and richer until conditions approximate to those of Eastern Bengal.

In this block the total area under utbandi of both kinds averages little over 6 per cent. of the total area. Even in thanas Hanskhali, Damurhuda and Krishnaganj which merge into block IV the area held under nominal utbandi is considerable; in the other thanas the proportion of nominal to real utbandi is greater. In Kushtia utbandi is negligible and in Kumarkhali and Khoksha it disappears altogether. In utbandi lands (nominal and real) of this block occupancy rights have been recorded in about 75 per cent. of this area.

Block II.

On passing south down the railway an entirely different set of fiscal conditions are encountered in thanas Ranaghat, Chakdah and Haringhata. Here there is a considerable proportion of rich black soil, which yields valuable crops such as tobacco, chilli and amon, but malaria has depopulated many village sites with the result that the encroaching jungle brings more malaria and adds impetus to deterioration in a vicious circle. The country, though badly drained, gains something from the silt off the higher lands and this, combined with a lighter pressure on the soil, has made fallowing very rare.

There is no real utbandi at all in this block and even those tenancies recorded as nominal utbandi showed none of the counterfeit imitations of variation of holding and annual assessment which made distinction between nominal and real difficult elsewhere. It was simply an ordinary raiyati holding but by local custom it was terminated at the will of the landlord.

The Settlement Officer thus described the area in his annual report: "The conditions are somewhat peculiar. The legal division of the raiyati status into raiyats holding at fixed rates. Occupancy and non-occupancy raiyats are not known. The locally recognized classification is into bemyadi, myadi and utbandi raiyats. Both bemyadi and myadi raiyats hold under written instrument. The bemyadi raiyat is a permanent raiyat often known locally as mourashi also. The spirit of the contract between landlord and tenant is obviously that the rent should be fixed also, but sometimes the omission of express mention of that condition led the landlords to contest the fixity of the rent. The myadi raiyat also holds under a written lease, but the lease is temporary and even if the raiyat is allowed to hold over, local custom is unanimous that the lease can be terminated at the instance of the landlord by the issue of what is called a "postal notice", i.e., a post-card containing orders to quit. The general name for raiyati holdings, not covered by leases, temporary and permanent, is utbandi, but they are without any of the peculiar characteristics of real utbandi and indeed no serious attempt was made by the landlords to insist on their being recorded as such. Rent receipts were rarely granted for these so-called utbandi tenancies."

Block III.

Returning north up the branch line of the Eastern Bengal Railway one passes into block III containing thanas Kaliganj, Nakashipara, Nabadwip, Krishnagar and Santipur and next

of Tehatta. Much of the land is fallow. It lies high except for occasional depressions which mark the course of former rivers. The high land is of sandy soil where aus and rabi crops are grown for three years and then the land lies fallow. In the depressions among paddy, both transplanted and broadcast, is grown every year. This block is the home of utbandi. It covers a percentage of the whole area of the thanas which varies from 26 per cent. in Santipur to 43 per cent. in Nakashipara. The relative prevalence of the system to other methods of tenure is even greater than these figures suggest, because in these thanas 25 per cent. of the total area against an average in other parts of the district of 10 to 15 per cent. is retained in the khas possession of landlords and tenures and not let out at all.

Real utbandi, is of course, the more common type; while in block I it is not as prevalent as a nominal utbandi, here in thanas Krishnagar it is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as numerous, Nakashipara $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, and Kaliganj $5\frac{1}{2}$ times.

Naturally, too, the accrual of occupancy rights is rarer than in the other blocks contrasted with block I where 75 per cent. of the utbandi area is subject to occupancy rights, here they nowhere extend to $\frac{1}{2}$ and in real utbandi lands they were recorded in only $\frac{1}{4}$ of the area.

The pressure on the soil is light and competition for land not particularly keen, except by the river side. For this reason tenants usually return without opposition to the lands they had left fallow. It was this which gave rise to the claim of the right of re-entry, which has been discussed elsewhere. It was only in this block that the right was ever successfully established. Where it was the tenancy is indistinguishable from the hallhashili of Bihar and Malda. This type III nominal utbandi was relatively very rare and occurred in no more than about a dozen villages.

It may be noted that in this block utbandi gave no signs of extending.

Block IV.

Contains the police-stations in the north and centre of the district:—

Tehatta (east of the Jelangi).
Karimpur.
Daulatpur.
Gangni.
Meherpur.
Chapra.
Parts of Krishnagar.
Damurhuda.

As may be supposed from its position between the extreme types of east and west, it is less homogeneous than the others. A good deal of land is comparatively fertile, for the good paddy-producing Kalanter area of Murshidabad laps over, though with diminishing fertility, into parts of Karimpur and Tehatta thanas, and is continued south in a line of bills through thanas Gangni and Meherpur.

The two southern thanas of Meherpur and Chapra, except in the bill depressions, suffer, though in a lesser degree, from the lightness of soil which is typical of the tracts west of

the Jelangi. There is a good deal of waterlogged country in Gangni, not favourable to cultivation, but on the whole the general tendency to better conditions as one goes eastward is maintained in that side of Meherpur, Gangni and the whole of Daulatpur.

There is a consensus of opinion that despite the 13 per cent. decrease in population revealed by the census figures, the increased price of agricultural produce and the pressure of economic necessity are leading to an increase in the area brought under the plough. Even the majority of resident bhadralok have cultivation which they work either in bhag or by hired labour. While the tenants as in block III claimed the right of re-entry, particularly in the southern part of this block, instances of shifting with the deliberate object of barring the accrual occupancy rights became more noticeable. In this block economic conditions making for stability have not been pronounced enough, as they have been in the south and east blocks, to prevent the growth of utbandi, or to kill it when it grew. On the other hand, they are settled enough to be making for its decadence, and its continued existence is not economically justified to the same extent that it is in parts of the sterile area in block III. This unhealthy state of transition is reflected in the relations between landlord and tenant which may definitely be said to be worse in this block than any other. The position has been accentuated by the landlord's action in expropriating raiyats and converting them into utbandi, a feature which was not traceable in the eastern block.

The percentage of area under utbandi is high. From Tehatta 43 per cent. (this includes also the area west of the river) to Gangni and Daulatpur 17 per cent. and 18 per cent. and it is almost entirely real utbandi. In Chapra there is no nominal utbandi in Meherpur only $\frac{1}{36}$ th of the total utbandi area is nominal, and in the other thanas the proportion is not much larger.

The extent to which occupancy rights have been acquired in the utbandi lands of both kinds is midway between block III on the west and block I on the east. In the former it did not amount anywhere to half the area, in the latter it was about three quarters. Here it is just over half.

Taking Nadia district as a whole exclusive of areas surveyed by the Rajshahi party—

	Acres.	Acres.
1. The total area surveyed by the Nadia Settlement party was	..	1,646,244
2. Of this—		
(a) nominal utbandi was recorded in or 4 per cent. of the total area surveyed	73,914	..
(b) Real utbandi was recorded in or 15 per cent. of the whole area surveyed	252,173	..
(c) Total of (a) and (b) 19 per cent. of the whole area	326,087	..
3. (a) In 45 per cent. of real utbandi lands occupancy rights were recorded, i.e., in	114,922	..
(b) In 88 per cent. of nominal utbandi lands occupancy rights were recorded, i.e., in	65,660	..
		21

	Acres.	Acres.
(c) In 55 per cent. of nominal and real utbandi lands occupancy rights were recorded, i.e., in ..	180,582	..
(a) Non-utbandi lands let out to raiyats amounted to ..	651,995	..
(b) In 98 per cent. of this occupancy rights were recorded, i.e., in ..	640,716	..

In all cases lands "not ordinarily" held as utbandi have been included in real utbandi.

Items 1, 2 and 4 are worth noting for comparison with the estimates given in the reports after the enquiry of 1902. There it is said that land held under utbandi exceeded that of land held under jamai settlement in the proportion of 5:3. According to our statistics taking nominal and real together the proportion is 3 utbandi, 6 jamai.

We found no indication of any rapid, or indeed any appreciable, recent shrinkage in utbandi lands and the only conclusion one can draw is that the estimates of 1902, which were based on the examination of a limited number of returns exaggerated the prevalence of utbandi.

V.—Incidence of rent on lands held under the system.

Apart from the general association of poor soil and the necessity of fallowing with the development of utbandi, there is no distinction between the quality of lands held under that system and in jamai. As I have remarked above, they lie interspersed side by side in the same village and where utbandi is common, a raiyat's lands may be held entirely under the one system or the other or he may hold under both. Security of tenure may induce him to lavish more care on his raiyati, but this does not mean that he ordinarily has full liberty to select good lands with a fixed rent on which to grow his more remunerative crops. Where competition for land is at all keen, cultivation of the more valuable crops inevitably flows over into the utbandi lands with the result that the incidence of rent automatically increases by the application of a higher rate to a more valuable crop. This is bad enough where rates are long established and generally accepted, but it is a great deal worse when it is manipulated by a landlord bent on enhancement. A reclassification of the crops accompanied by the introduction of new classes rouses less opposition than a direct increase in rents, because it is less obvious, and there is no limit except the ingenuity of the landlord, to the extent to which this process can be pushed. When a rate is imposed on wild apples (nona) and wild reeds, when even cocoanut leaves which are used in making broom sticks and bhati plants which grow wild and whose ashes are used by the poor classes for washing clothes, do not escape the landlord's rake in collections, it is not surprising that the list of special rates is a long one. Some rates have no connection with the cultivation of the land, for instance, the tenant often has to pay an additional charge for every hut he raises in his homestead, another instance is a special rate on houses which contain a handloom. These are really

abwabs and very thinly disguised. The following is a list of the commoner rates in vogue:—

1. Nal (aus and aman).
2. Boara (aman only).
3. Boro.
4. Boro seedlings.
5. Jute.
6. Brinjal.
7. Marich or chilly.
8. Haridra.
9. Plantain.
10. Different egetables each with a rate.
11. Khicha (rabi crop).
12. Asha (ploughing but not sowing).
13. Betel grove.
14. Tobacco.
15. Bastu.
16. Udbastu.
17. Dhakal.
18. Dihi (high land).
19. Ditches.
20. Threshing floor.
21. Thatching grass.
22. Patel.
23. Tenga.
24. Bamboos.
25. Mangoes.
26. Jack fruits.
27. Mango shoots.
28. Jack fruit shoots.
29. Tamarind.
30. Toddy palm.
31. Date palm.
32. Cocoanut.
33. Bel.
34. Kod Bel.
35. Sugarcane.
36. Gab.
37. Ata (sort of wild apple).
38. Lemon.
39. Plum.
40. Brick house.

Incidence of rent.—It is difficult to show the precise incidence of real utbandi as compared with jamai lands, because in real utbandi khatians the rates, and not the total rent, had to be recorded. For nominal utbandi, the statistics at the end of the report show the total rent recorded for the appropriate area in each thana and from this the average incidence can be calculated. But in both "nominal" and "real" the figures are for legal rent and the rate had often to be cut down at attestation. For instance, in a plot in which occupancy right has accrued in, say, 1318, we find Rs. 2 being realized for jute. The jute rate was introduced in 1320. Therefore the rate of Rs. 2-8 must be disallowed for that plot. When it is remembered that many landlords recognized no distinction between real and nominal utbandi or even the

accrual of occupancy rights under section 180 it will be realized that the rent demand was often in practice greater than the figures given here indicate. On the other hand, collusion with the landlords' staff may also make the effective demand much less by showing the land as fallow which was really cultivated. It is a common argument of those who defend the utbandi system that high rates are compensated by the extremely low rates of jamai lands. Jamai rates for the whole district of Nadia (exclusive of the part done by the Rajshahi party) work out at Rs. 2-8-5 per acre. This figure is not high compared with the exceptional areas of, say, Tamlook and Ghatal thanas in Midnapore, but they are not low as compared with Contai of that district, where embankments have to be maintained on Faridpur or the adjoining district of Jessore, and the soil in Nadia is distinctly poorer. The figures are given below for comparison:—

<i>Nadia.</i>			Rs.	A.	P.
Settled and occupancy—					
Block No. 1	..	..	2	9	2
" " 2	..	..	2	10	9
" " 3	..	..	2	7	9
" " 4	..	..	2	7	3
Whole area	..	..	2	8	5
<i>Midnapore.</i>					
Tamlook	..	..	5	8	4
Ghatal	..	..	6	4	4
Contai	..	..	2	10	9

Faridpur.

			Rs.	A.	P.
Settled raiyats	..	..	2	9	2
Occupancy	..	..	2	10	6

Jessore.

Magura	..	..	2	5	2
Narail	..	..	2	5	7
Jhenidah	..	..	2	5	4
Bangaon	..	..	2	4	6
Sadar	..	..	2	10	8

Compared with these jamai rates, nominal utbandi rates in the different area work out as follows—

		Nominal utbandi with occupancy rights.			Nominal utbandi non-occupancy.		
Block No.		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
I	..	3	4	6	3	12	2
II	..	3	13	4	3	12	11
III	..	3	7	4	4	4	10
IV	..	3	7	6	3	10	8
Over the whole area	..	3	8	7	3	15	4

I have remarked that it is not possible to give the precise incidence in real utbandi, because we have no total lump rent to correlate with the total area, but we kept a rent note for each village which shows the prevalent rates and, by striking an average over a very large number of villages, have arrived at a figure which, I believe, can be taken as approximately correct. This is shown below for the whole district and also block by block:—

Real utbandi.

Block No. I.				Block No. II.				Block No. III.				Block No. IV.				Over the whole district.	
Rs. A. P.				Rs. A. P.				Rs. A. P.				Rs. A. P.				Rs. A. P.	
Aman	..	..	3	13	9	3	9	2*	3	14	0	3	3	3	3	10	0
Aus	..	..	5	7	1	3	9	2*	3	12	10	3	5	10	4	0	8
Bastu	..	..	14	0	9	9	3	7*	15	12	5	16	0	5	13	12	3
Udbastu	..	..	10	13	5	4	13	3*	9	6	8	8	12	0	8	4	10
Bhiti	..	..	6	0	2	4	8	0*	4	10	8	5	1	4	5	1	0
Garden	..	..	14	12	9	....	....	....	16	6	5	16	6	6	15	13	10
Cocoonut and date palm	..	..	29	0	0	....	....	....	23	8	1	28	9	5	27	0	6
Chillis	..	..	5	5	4	....	....	....	3	15	9	5	4	5	4	13	10
sugarcane	..	..	12	1	7	....	....	....	3	13	10	6	7	1	7	7	6
Bamboo	..	..	17	11	7	....	....	....	13	2	5	15	6	6	17	3	10
Thatching grass	..	..	6	0	9	....	....	....	4	1	10	4	15	3	5	0	8
Turmeric	..	..	6	3	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	6	13	7
Ditch	..	..	10	1	4	....	....	....	9	9	10	5	3	9	8	4	11
Jute	..	..	6	11	10	....	....	....	5	5	3	6	1	6	6	0	5
Vegetables	..	..	7	12	0	....	....	....	6	11	8	5	6	6	6	10	8
Tamarind	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	41	4	2	26	3	8	33	11	11
Betel	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	21	9	0	8	5	4	14	15	2
Shop	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	39	11	3

* Nominal utbandi rates are given, as no real utbandi occurs in block No. II.

The multiplicity of rates points the way to realization of abwabs and the Settlement Officer reported of the central block in 1920: "With the honourable exception of the Maharaja Bahadur of Nadia, all the bigger landlords realized extensive abwabs, the tenant pays an average of 4 annas to 8 annas of his rent in abwabs. I have noticed that the prevalence of these illegal exactions coincide with the prevalence of utbandi" and the inevitable inference, I am afraid, is that land-

lords take advantage of the legally insecure status of their utbandi raiyats. In the south, where there is no utbandi, abwabs are not realized, or if at all, on a very trifling scale. Some of the exactions are ingenuous, the realization for the right of weighing goods, (koyal) is found in the north-west, but the most cynical realization I have encountered is "kabula bhikasha," a contribution levied by one good lady to meet the expenses of her charity.

VI.—The abuses, to which in working the system, is liable.

I have described above the common system adopted by the landlords in preparing their assessment and maintaining their accounts. The landlord's staff are usually ill-paid and sometimes not paid at all, the lower grades especially subsist either upon recognized fees from the tenants, whose lands they measure, or unrecognized bribes paid to secure favourable assessment. If a tenant is prepared to pay, he can get his area under crop reduced. The excess may be returned as fallow or tacked on to the holding of the less fortunate tenant, who does not pay, for the amin cannot tamper with the area of the mauza as a whole which is known. By this process the poorer or more honest tenant suffers with the landlord.

It is obvious that in these circumstances the tenant is in considerable uncertainty as to what his proper rent demand is, and has little chance of realizing whether his legal rights have been ignored or if he does realize it, of asserting them with success in the courts. This confession is worse confounded by the system of crediting payments by the tenant. First, all abwabs, whether for the landlord or his staff, are deducted from the sum tendered. Then the utbandi rent is taken and, if anything is left over, that sum is credited against the raiyati rent. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that raiyati holdings are frequently sold up for arrears. For an unscrupulous landlord this provided an easy way of extending the area of utbandi. Resettlement Officer reported on this in his annual report of 1920:—

“ Though the expropriation of raiyati land and its conversion to utbandi is proved by the figures to have been less than my anticipations, it is in much greater evidence than in A block; the process goes on moreover in a way that cannot always be detected. Jamai lands found in excess on remeasurement are thrown into the utbandi stock, so that we find entered as utbandi in the landlords' papers unspecified fractions of plots. I had to stop objection officers from making small batta plots in the map in conformity with these entries, because, of course, the whole thing is a fraud. One attestation officer had to reject the landlords' papers, because their acceptance involved the diminution of the raiyati holdings (jamas) to incredibly small dimensions, while a second officer reports that in two mauzas of thana Tehatta (Kurulgachi and Chilakhali) tenants intentionally allowed their holdings to be sold for arrears of rent and took resettlement in utbandi, because in the absence of jamabandis the landlord has included most of the jamai land in his utbandi chittas leaving the jamai areas too small for the rents they bore.”

As an instance of the manner in which the standard of measurement is manipulated to secure enhancements the following from the report for the previous year may be quoted:—

“ They try to insinuate a smaller standard of measures. For this they prepare the way by distributing hatchittas showing the shorter measure. They then may sue for arrears of

rent, mentioning on the plaint the measure they are seeking to introduce. They need not actually measure the fields with this new measure, but they change the dimensions of the plots in the annual chittas. We have traced this process, because sometimes we cannot detect mistakes made in substituting the new dimensions for old, or plots where the amin has forgotten to make the change. Then the raiyat finds his payments increasing. I have noted in the cadastral section how the payments are made—the raiyats tender a lump sum which is allotted by the landlord's men first against abwabs then against utbandi rent and last against raiyati rent. The raiyat seldom understands the complex calculations by which his rent is arrived at, and as often as not the landlords succeed in securing a permanently enhanced rent-roll by these devious methods. Let me quote a case in point. In a certain village the old rate for arable land was Re. 1-1. Direct enhancement raised it to Re. 1-9. Then the landlord discovered a better class of land which he assessed at Re. 1-14. Then a super class was discovered which was assessed at Rs. 2-2. Not satisfied with this, the landlord introduced as special rates Rs. 2-8 for jute and Rs. 3 for plantain groves. The result is that to-day there are many tenants whose arrears of rent have accumulated up to Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. Simultaneously with the discovery of new classes of land, there is a tendency for the preferential rates which were formerly in vogue to disappear. On the first year after fallowing it is usual to grow only rabi crops, and the assessment for that use to be half the full assessment for arable land. This has, in some estates, been already abolished and all cultivation is being assessed at the full rates. Again a raiyat cultivating portion of a plot is often now made to pay the full assessment of the plot. In fact, we see that in the hands of the unscrupulous among the landlords the privileges of the utbandi raiyat are being taken away one by one, while the disabilities have remained.

The annual settlement reports of the years 1920-22 give numerous instances of similar illegalities in particular estates to which I need not refer. It is difficult to indicate the abuses which do arise without creating a false impression of the system as a whole. It is not suggested that many of them are rampant in all estates. There are cases where the tenant have been enjoying their lands at customary village rates which have not been changed for generations and who are perfectly satisfied with things as they are. The complexity of the system in working means that most landlords are unaware of what goes on and are powerless to stop it if they do. Where supervision of the landlord's servants is lax and it generally is, or where they are inadequately paid and they generally are, the temptation to resort to one or other of the abuses mentioned is too strong to be resisted.

To summarize the evil effects of the present system are:—

- (1) It puts a premium on dishonesty by encouraging the raiyat and the cutchery staff to cheat the landlord and the poorer or more scrupulous tenant.

- (2) It puts a discount on enterprise, by taxing the cultivation of more valuable crops and giving no security of tenure.
- (3) It often leaves the raiyat in a perpetual state of uncertainty of his true liability; so that even if he knows what his rights are, he would have difficulty in proving them.
- (4) It has been stated above that before the settlement operations many landlords did not recognize the distinction between real and nominal *utbandi* or the proper application of section 180. It is doubtful how far they will do so in the future. The indefinite legal character of *utbandi* and the difficulty of the application of the 12 years' continuous rule has, therefore, taken away the general protection of the Bengal Tenancy Act from the nominal *utbandi* tenant to whom section 180 was not intended to apply, while the real *utbandi* tenant has failed to secure even the limited protection which section 180 should give.

VII.—Proposals for legislation.

The need for legislative action of some kind is, therefore, undisputed. All officers whom I have consulted are unanimously in favour of the principle of conversion and opposed to the wholesale abolition of *utbandi*. As regards the latter, there are undoubtedly areas such as part of block III where it is economically justified, where the plastic character of the holding adjust itself to the needs of cultivation, where the raiyat is relieved of the burden of paying rent for land from which he gets no return and the landlord is compensated by the higher rate common in such tenures. To abolish it here would be to jeopardize the interest of both parties. On the other hand partial abolition by legislative action in selected areas also appears to be out of the question.

Conversion.—At the same time the experience of the sub-committee suggests that the more one studies the problem the more difficult does it appear to devise any definition or define any privileges of the system, which will not inevitably perpetuate the abuses which it is sought to cure. The result is that it is a conversion that we must look for a remedy and if that fails, I fear, there is little chance of devising any other provisions which will at once touch the worst of the existing evils, without being unacceptable to the Council or giving a dangerous shock to existing economic conditions.

I have emphasized the importance of the success of conversion, because under the draft Bill, as it stands, I do not believe conversion will be a success.

It is difficult to dwell on the helplessness of the raiyats without being accused of having a prejudice against the zamindar. But the helplessness of the former is a vital factor to be considered in the working of the conversion Bill. The Nadia raiyat has, neither the cohesion of caste or tribe common in Western Bengal, nor the individual independence of

the Eastern Bengal tenantry. Indigo cultivation and the *utbandi* system has accustomed him to submission to the landlord's control: it has also perfected the organization by which that control is exercised. There were numerous cases during the operations in which the tenants combined against the landlord in the assertion of their rights. In some cases their action was justified, in others it was not. But in the long run there was never any question of what the result would be. The tenants went down practically every time.

It is at the tenants, upon whom the system is being operated harshly, that the conversion Bill must be aimed, but it is precisely in those cases that we think it doubtful whether the tenant will apply for conversion or having once applied will be able to resist pressure put on him to withdraw.

(1) **Power of Revenue Officer to convert on his own motion.**—When the device of conversion was first suggested during the operations it was the opinion of all officers of the settlement that in those cases where conversion was most desirable, tenants could not be relied on to apply and that therefore the Revenue Officer should be given power to convert on his own motion. This also was Mr. Pringle's view. I have since had the opportunity of seeing the report sent by Rai Sahib Mahendra Nath Gupta, Subdivisional Officer, Sadar, Krishnagar, to the Commissioner, and also a note by Babu Kalipada Moitra, late Headquarters' A.S.O. and Attestation Charge Officer, they too endorse this view. The latter instances the use made of section 40 to illustrate the way in which raiyats are reluctant to make use of similar provision of the law even where their interests would appear to point straight in that direction. He cites the case of Dacca district where, until the settlement operations in 1910, there was not a single application for commutation of rent although the tenants could expect a reduction of at least 30 per cent. in the cash equivalent of their dues; even during the settlement operations where bargadars were encouraged to apply, the number only rose to about 600. In Midnapore, where the number of such rents is large, I believe the result was the same.

On these grounds some power of initiative must be left to the Revenue Officer. I admit there is a strong body of opinion against the proposal. There seems to be an impression that if Revenue Officers were given rein they would plunge into a policy of wholesale abolition of *utbandi* regardless of economic condition. I think there is no ground for this fear. Our experience of voluntary conversion in settling fair rents warns us to walk warily but I recognize that fear of ill-judged conversion does exist and for that reason welcome any safeguards which may help to allay it. Rai Sahib Mahendra Nath Gupta suggests the analogy of section 112, Bengal Tenancy Act, and this seems to meet the case. If applications for conversion are freely made, there will be no need to make use of these reserve powers in the Revenue Officer. On the other hand, if experience shows that the object of the Bill is unlikely to be obtained owing to the timidity of tenants, it will be open to Government to

review the position and by notification to invest selected Revenue Officers with the necessary powers.

(2) **Joint applications.**—With the similar object of encouraging tenants to convert and guarding against undue pressure being put upon them to withdraw their applications, I would allow joint applications to be made by tenants who may wish to combine for that purpose.

(3) **Size of holding.**—According to the draft Bill, all the lands held by a tenant under the same landlord will constitute on conversion one holding. While recognizing the necessity of guarding against the tenants selecting only his best lands for conversion, I am afraid the provision may operate rather harshly. In normal areas a raiyat has usually more than one raiyati holding. If he is unable to meet his total rent demand, his liability is limited, as the sale of one holding will usually satisfy the arrears of rent. Under the proposed Bill all the *utbandi* tenant's eggs, so to speak, will be in the same basket and if he falls short in payment all his old *utbandi* lands will be put up for sale. I would therefore, add to section 180A (7) "If in the circumstances of the case the creation of a single holding appears to be prejudicial to the interests of either party the officer shall have power to determine the limits and number of the holdings to be constituted by the lands which are the subject of the application."

(4) **Nominal *utbandi*.**—It is not clear whether the Bill is to apply to nominal as well as to real *utbandi*. I think it is essential that it should. In the first place it is not certain that the courts will follow the departmental view in making the distinction with the result that a raiyat believing he has the protection of the better status will refrain from applying only to find too late when involved in a civil suit that his tenancy is held to be real *utbandi*. Secondly, previous to the settlement the landlords never recognized the distinction and it is by no means certain that they will all do so now. It may be objected that this is not of much practical importance, because if the tenancy is nominal *utbandi* it follows that the system of measurement will have ceased to exist. But the persistence of the *biru* and the introduction of fresh or enhanced rates is still possible in nominal *utbandi* tenancies and it is this variation of demand which it is designed to prevent. I would, therefore, make it clear that the conversion Bill applies also to tenancies recorded as nominal *utbandi*.

(5) **Salami.**—It is probably not much use further emphasizing the objection to the payment of salami, as it has been accepted in principle by the sub-committee. In theory it may be justified by the legal fiction that the lands revert to the khas possession of the zamindar when they lie fallow and by the abatement of rent for fallow land when it exists. But in the case of the real *utbandi* tenant who pays rent for fallow land and yet still has to prove 12 years' continuous possession before he can get occupancy right, the question is doubtful and still more so where the practice of re-entry on the same plots generation after generation has been a recognized usage, breach of which is contrary to

local sentiment. I have remarked in my note on re-entry that the landlord has now, in the keener competition for land and more settled cultivation, advantages which the framers of the Act did not contemplate. Had similar condition been in their minds it is doubtful if they would have made the accrual of occupancy rights so difficult. The landlords have enjoyed these advantages for years; and I recognized that to deny the right to salami *in toto* would be an injustice to vested interests whatever their origin. The departmental view is that the provision for salami is very likely to wreck the possibilities of success of conversion even taking into consideration the view that with all the standards of comparison, which the Revenue Officer can use in fixing a lump rent, the tenant is sure of a profit even with salami to pay.

Our experience of amicable conversion during and after attestation showed that even after an apparently fair average rent had been fixed the land sometimes come back to the landlord, because the rent fixed was too high. So that while I would concede to the landlord the payment of some salami, I think it dangerous to provide for more than twice the annual rent. The retention of 8 (A) which provides that the average money rent payable by occupancy raiyats in the vicinity shall be factor in determining the rent, I regard the essential. The method of assessment by a landlord's staff, which happens to be corrupt, has been described and the resulting "paper" rent demand for the *utbandi* holding may be very unreliable guide.

Other minor points for consideration are:—

- (a) The effect of section 180A (2) (b) will often be that the question of possession will be raised as an issue. I presume no special provision is necessary to enable the Revenue Officer to decide it.
- (b) In recording rents in *utbandi* tenancies where occupancy rights have been acquired, section 29 was applied and illegal enhancements were cut down. In the proposals to define *utbandi* set forth in paragraph 3 of the Government resolution there is also a definite statement that Chapter V will apply to such tenancies. The settlement view all along has been that section 29 would apply, but until the proposals in paragraph 3 become law, some element of doubt will remain. In applying section 180A (8), therefore, will the Revenue Officer be justified in ignoring such illegal rents?

Summarizing my proposed amendments of the draft Bill I would—

- (1) add to section 180A (1) after the words "has held land under the custom of *utbandi*" the words "or any system of land tenure locally known as *utbandi*";
- (2) add to section 180A (1) after the words "determined for the lands" the words—

"EXPLANATION.—A joint application may be made by a body of raiyats under

the same landlord, provided that the application shall not include lands of more than one village;"

- (3) insert between (7) and (8) of section 180A "if, in the circumstances of the case, the creation of single holding appears to be prejudicial to the interests of either party, the officer shall have power to determine the limits and number of the holdings to be constituted by the lands which are the subject of the application" and renumber sub-section (8) and those following it;
- (4) in column (9) of section 180A substitute "twice" for "three times" and in the "proviso" substitute "10 per cent." for "20 per cent."; and
- (5) add the following as section 180C:—

"The Local Government may, on being satisfied that such action is necessary in the interests of public order or local welfare, direct that a Revenue Officer, specially empowered on this behalf, shall determine uniform annual rents for all or particular classes of *utbandi* raiyats in any specified area, estate or tenure."

The rules laid down in section 180A shall apply to the proceedings taken by such officer, except that no application from the landlord or the raiyat shall be necessary and the provision of section 180B shall also apply.

Lastly, I would put in a place for speed in dealing with the problem, Every day the *utbandi* record is going out of date and the difficulties of the conversion officer will be accumulating.

(b) With regard to the legislation, the alternatives offered are:—

- (1) To define *utbandi* and its legal incidents in greater particulars in the Act and thus conserve certain definite privileges attaching to the tenancy.
- (2) To eliminate any special privileges.
- (3) To leave the Act practically alone.

Since *utbandi* cannot be abolished and may not be entirely converted definition is desirable. I accept the proposals in paragraph 3 of the Government resolution—with a minor exception—as fair definition of the tenancy as the law now stands. But inasmuch as the success of the conversion Bill is problematical I see no reason why the law, as it stands, should be merely defined and not modified. The settlement view throughout has been that the law is unequitable. Conversion will offer a means of evading the inequity of the law, but it is simply shirking the problem to leave the inequities and to comfort the raiyat with the advice that if he does not like them, he can go to court and apply for conversion.

(a) I have mentioned in my note on the right of re-entry that I do not believe the framers of the Act intended that in spite of the association of a tenant and his successors with a particular plot for generations, the mere accident of fallowing should deprive him

from occupancy rights, that in many cases the entry "lands, if fallow, revert to the landlords khas" rested on nothing but a legal fiction, and that it is by no means beyond doubt that the Judges now would support this legal fiction. I have also shown that the abatement of rent for fallow land is not such a great concession—since rates are high—that it would be inequitable to let the tenant acquire occupancy rights in it.

I have also mentioned that the claim of the landlord to treat all land left fallow as khas khamar is not unchallenged on historical grounds. There are, therefore, strong reasons for so amending the present law that 12 years' continuous possession will be taken to include the necessary periods of fallowing. I may be wrong, but I believe this was Mr. Sachse's view. On many grounds theoretically it is an essential reform, it would undo an injustice which has lain heavy on the tenants for many years; but where the right of re-entry is not now generally claimed by tenants, it would mean putting the clock back, and I am not sure that this is possible without doing some injustice to vested interests however inequitably they may have been acquired originally. There is also this practical objection that as soon as it became law, the very tenants whom we want to protect would be hastily shifted by the more alert landlords in order to bar the accrual of occupancy rights. Thirdly, there is the question of practical politics, the question whether such a provision is likely to be supported by a majority in the Council, a question outside the scope of this report.

(b) The definition contains no reference to annual measurement which Government has held to be an essential incident and one that the landlords could not escape without giving some *quid pro quo* to the tenants the omission will have the effect perhaps of turning some tenancies recorded by the Settlement Department as "nominal *utbandi*" into "real *utbandi*." Probably not very many, because the rent can hardly vary without the retention of some such system of survey and accounts which we took as the test of real *utbandi*. (Revenue Secretary's letter to the Honorary Secretary, British Indian Association, No. 8823, dated the 22nd January 1919.)

But the insertion of anything in the definition, which will make some form of annual measurement an essential of *utbandi*, has grave objections. It would encourage landlords to take accounts and would tend to keep the system artificially alive where it might otherwise die out.

(c) The provision which makes Chapter VI inapplicable to *non-utbandi* tenants involves the retention of *biru* or varying rates, the worst feature of the system, and leaves the landlord with unlimited powers of enhancement. There is, I am afraid, no practical cure for this. It is useless placing limitations on enhancement without limiting the power of eviction, and the latter means the total abolition of the *utbandi* character of the holding, an alternative which has already been ruled out of court. On the whole, therefore, I would recommend that the tenant should concede the 12 years' continuous cultivation rule, the system of measurement and the inapplicability

of Chapter VI. When it is remembered that most of the local officers reported in favour of the total abolition of *utbandi*, it will be seen that the tenant will be withdrawing much that he might claim. And if we allow what we believe to be great inequities in the present law to remain, because there are practical difficulties in curing them, it is only fair that the landlords should make some really substantial concessions in return.

(1) First in showing some generosity in the matter of coversion and in trusting the Revenue Officer with the initiative to exercise his powers wisely if the timidity of tenants prevents them applying.

(2) Secondly, in removing from the category of *utbandi* those classes of land which, since they are not subject to cultivation in the ordinary sense, could never have been regarded by the framers of the Tenancy Act as the legitimate subject to *utbandi* and in which its persistence is absolutely unjustified, *e.g.*, homestead *udbastu*, bamboo or orchard lands.

(3) Thirdly, by submitting to a definite legal restriction on the manipulation of the standard of measurement. There is really no justification for permitting enhancement by introducing a smaller standard rate of measurement. It can only be the fruit of a guilty conscience, which relies on the superior intelligence of one of the contracting parties to gain an advantage which the other has not the wit to detect or at all events to visualize in relation to his rights.

To summarize, I favour the proposed draft in paragraph 3 of the Government resolution and would simply add:—

- (a) "No char, homestead, *udbastu*, bamboo or orchard lands should be deemed to be *utbandi* within the meaning of section 180 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, provided that this shall not operate so as to bar any application for settlement of fair rent under section 180A."
- (b) "The enhancement of rent by the introduction of standards of measurement other than that prevailing in the village and in the estate or tenure under which the lands are directly held shall be deemed to be illegal."

I must apologise for adding so much to the mass of material already written on the subject, I can only plead that the latter circumstances has made brevity and judicious selection difficult. It is a matter of great regret that this report could not have been written before the departure of Mr. Pringle, Babu N. C. Sen, and the many attestation officers who devoted 3 years' labour and enthusiasm to the problem. My own practical experience of *utbandi* has been limited to a stage of the operations and a part of the country where it was least apparent. But I have endeavoured to place as prominently as possible in the report the material collected and the views expressed by Mr. Pringle. Babu Hira Lal Sen, my Headquarters Assistant Settlement Officer, who has had an extensive practical acquaintance with the subject, has given me invaluable assistance in preparing the report and formulating our recommendation.

VIII.—Types of nominal *utbandi*. (Extracts from the general instructions to attestation officers.)

All land which is called *utbandi* and is not *utbandi*, will be called *nammatra utbandi* (except in the case of *korfadars*). The main types of nominal *utbandi* will be:—

1. Land for which a fixed rental has to be paid whether it is cultivated or not, in which there is no right of part surrender or in respect of which the landlord has definitely ceased to ascertain the land under cultivation. In fact this is a type which, except in name and perhaps in the artificial term set to the lease, is not distinguishable from ordinary *raiya* holdings. *Raiya nammatra utbandi* will appear in clause 13 and clause 16 "nammatra *utbandi* 180 dhara *projoja nahe*."

2. Tenancies which are rather looser units than No. 1, but in respect of which the landlords have definitely ceased to ascertain for deciding the amount of land under cultivation. The best practical criterion for deciding the issue whether or not the landlord has definitely ceased to ascertain the amount of land under cultivation is to examine whether or not the landlord maintains the mechanism necessary for distributing the annual demand over the different plots and for giving abatement of rent for fields for which a *raiya* may claim such. It is perfectly obvious that a landlord, who has not under his control papers or an active staff by which or by whom the identity and size of the plots are readily ascertainable, must be held definitely to have ceased to ascertain the quantity of land under cultivation. I suggest that a *sine qua non*—an essential part of the mechanism of *utbandi*—must be the maintenance up to date (so that the fields are recognizable) of *chittas* ultimately based on a field-to-field survey. The second type of nominal *utbandi* will, therefore, be a tenancy in respect of which, though in theory capable of part surrender, the landlord by not maintaining in working order the machinery for ascertaining the land annually under cultivation must be inferred to have definitely ceased so to ascertain it. This type will be recorded as 1 above except that if rates for different classes of land are better understood by the *raiya*s than the lump rental these rates will be added in column 8 and a note of the custom of part surrender in column 16. The rules applicable to ordinary *raiya*s will be applied to such tenancies in determining status. A subsidiary type in class II would be something of the converse, though I doubt if it anywhere exists in this district. That is a tenancy in which inspection takes place, but not for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of cultivation but of assessing at different rates different crops. These tenancies are not capable of part surrender or abatement or rent for fallow land. They are ordinarily *jama* holdings in which *birawari* system of rent assessment was survived. Such tenancies will be recorded like class I, but rates for crops will go in to column 8 and in column 16 "son son 6 *kalamer nirikher anushare khajana dharjya hai*."

3. Land which being a definitely fixed holding is not *utbandi* though the rent for the

whole varies with the amount cultivated annually. Great care must be taken to determine that the lands are actually a holding of definitely fixed limits. The unit for determining the characteristic of fluidity or stability of *utbandi* "holding" is the landlord within the mauza.

The type of *utbandi* holding prevailing under a particular landlord within the mauza must combine all the following characteristics before the attestation officer shall find that the holdings are definitely fixed:—

(1) The lands of the holding must really cohere, i.e., part surrender, part abandonment of an *utbandi* holding is unknown in the mauza and not claimed by the raiyats.

(2) The lands of the holding descend *en bloc* by succession.

(3) Changing of limits of holdings by addition is extremely rare.

(4) Changing of limits of holdings by part transfer is extremely rare.

(5) All exercise of acts of possession by the landlord during fallowing period is unknown, e.g., collection of ghaskar, sowing of

rabi crops and superimposition of new raiyat over old raiyat head.

(6) There is no exaction of salami on re-entry to land.

Only when all the above conditions concur, can *utbandi* tenancies be said to have crossed the line and become really definitely fixed holdings. From a brief examination of the parties before attestation begins, the attestation officer will discover whether they are likely to be definitely fixed holdings or not. He will find most of them straight away disqualified owing to the incident of part surrender which most raiyats admit.

The different columns will be filled up as in the case of real *utbandi* khatian ordinarily so held (given below) except that in column 13 *nammatra utbandi* will appear, in column 15 raiyati dakhaliya swatwa sunya with date, or stitiban, and in column 16 *nammatra utbandi* 180 dhara projojja nahe, followed by the ordinary *utbandi* seal son son patit bade, etc. Where the raiyat is stitiban, section 29 will, of course, be applied in determining the legality of rates.

IX.—A statement of cultivable area showing the amounts found under crop and fallow.

Name of thana.	Net cropped area.	Fallow.			Percentage of fallow area of the total cultivable lands.
		Current fallow.	Cultivable area other than current fallow.	Total.	
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	
Krishnagar	58,386.13	9,982.70	9,096.77	19,079.47	25
Ranaghat	75,057.49	5,414.22	13,112.58	18,526.80	20
Sanitpur	25,646.42	4,015.97	9,425.63	13,441.60	34
Kaliganj	41,597.74	12,946.99	10,484.69	23,431.68	36
Chakdaha	56,411.77	4,483.59	9,883.57	14,367.16	20
Nakashipara	49,065.25	15,237.27	15,540.02	30,777.29	39
Nabadwip	14,875.57	2,337.02	3,602.75	5,939.77	27
Haringhata	27,969.81	2,390.42	5,334.96	7,725.38	22
Tehatta	78,685.59	13,801.29	14,602.75	28,404.04	27
Meherpur	57,475.62	8,630.06	11,842.51	20,472.57	26
Chusadanga	48,707.67	5,247.00	11,614.75	1,621.75	25
Damurhuda	54,251.58	4,497.07	9,331.25	13,828.32	20
Jibannagar	36,363.41	3,306.19	5,980.58	9,286.77	20
Hanskhali	53,483.12	2,808.48	7,610.98	10,419.46	17
Chapra	57,318.68	9,422.85	8,589.30	18,012.15	24
Krishnaganj	25,686.88	2,442.39	4,254.51	6,696.90	21
Alamdanga	66,553.44	3,005.75	9,176.03	418.78	15
Gangni	62,581.63	3,609.14	4,791.92	15,401.06	20
Mirpur	53,798.13	2,415.22	7,181.36	9,596.58	15
Daulatpur	36,147.39	2,305.00	5,532.89	7,837.98	17
Karimpur	65,000.03	5,711.13	12,605.70	18,316.83	22
Bheramara	448.67	24.11	55.06	79.17	15
Khoksa	16,125.09	198.60	989.00	1,188.26	7
Kushtia	49,921.41	1,494.81	5,257.75	6,752.56	12
Kumarkhali	36,146.94	825.70	3,475.86	4,301.56	11

A statement showing percentage of area held under different classes of interest in each thana.

Name of thana.	Khas of proprietor and tenure-holders.	Mukarar's raiyat.	Ordinary raiyats.			Nominal utbandi.			Real utbandi occupancy.			Real utbandi non- occupancy.			Grand total of real utbandi (columns 12 and 15).	Grand total of real and nominal utbandi (columns 9 and 16).	Other tenancies.	Total area of all classes (columns 2, 3, 6, 17 and 18).	Total area of thana.
			Settled and occupancy.	Non-occupancy.	Total (columns 4 and 5).	Settled and occupancy.	Non-occupancy.	Total (columns 7 and 8).	Not ordinarily held.	Ordinarily held.	Total (columns 10 and 11).	Not ordinarily held.	Ordinarily held.	Total (columns 13 and 14).					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Kaliganj ..	27	4	27	1	28	6	..	6	1	7	8	..	24	24	32	38	3	100	71,789.00
Nakashipara ..	25	5	22	..	22	9	..	9	1	5	6	..	28	28	34	43	5	100	89,562.99
Krishnagar ..	25	13	31	1	32	7	1	7	1	3	4	..	14	14	18	25	5	100	88,611.11
Nabadwip ..	33	3	33	1	34	8	2	10	..	7	7	..	12	12	19	29	9	100	25,520.03
Santipur ..	30	8	26	2	28	13	2	15	1	2	3	..	8	8	11	26	8	100	48,937.11
Ranaghat ..	25	19	40	2	42	10	3	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	1	100	105,942.05
Chakdaha ..	20	27	40	3	43	7	2	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	1	100	78,314.37
Haringhata ..	27	19	47	1	48	5	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	1	100	42,008.55
Tebatia ..	16	11	26	..	26	4	..	4	2	20	22	..	17	17	39	43	4	100	118,993.82
Meherpur ..	18	8	32	..	32	1	..	1	1	18	19	..	16	16	36	37	4	100	85,340.31
Chapra ..	15	21	22	..	22	..	..	..	2	20	21	..	17	17	37	37	4	100	82,692.02
Damurhuda ..	14	29	36	..	36	3	..	3	2	7	9	..	4	4	13	16	4	100	75,232.42
Chusadanga ..	15	20	55	..	55	1	..	1	1	1	2	..	2	2	4	5	4	100	71,410.71
Hanskhali ..	14	33	43	..	42	2	..	2	1	1	3	..	3	3	6	9	1	100	66,112.17
Jibannagar ..	13	33	47	..	47	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	2	2	1	3	4	100	49,251.44
Krishnaganj ..	18	36	31	..	31	5	..	5	..	3	4	..	2	2	6	11	1	100	37,397.91
Karimpur ..	13	7	47	..	48	1	..	1	2	12	15	..	13	13	28	30	1	100	91,294.91
Gangni ..	13	12	56	..	56	2	..	2	2	4	6	..	7	7	14	16	1	100	84,288.66
Daulatpur ..	13	17	50	..	50	8	..	8	2	4	7	..	3	3	10	18	1	100	48,099.96
Bheramara ..	18	8	72	..	72	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	100	703.94
Mirpur ..	17	24	54	..	54	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	3	1	100	70,774.42
Alamdanga ..	8	36	50	..	51	1	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	..	2	3	1	100	85,436.52
Kushtia ..	10	40	49	..	49	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	100	62,843.77
Kumarkhali ..	11	43	44	1	45	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	100	45,012.58
Khoksa ..	15	25	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	100	20,673.00
Grand total of all thanas	18	20	39	1	39	4	1	4	1	6	7	1	8	8	15	19	27	100	16,46,243.60

A statement showing areas held by ordinary occupancy raiyats and utbandi raiyats of different classes with incidence of their rents.

Thana.	Settled and occupancy raiyats										Nominal Utbandi.		
	Cash rent.				On fixed produce rent.		On share of produce rent.		On combined cash and produce rent.		Settled and occupancy.		
	Area.	Rent.	Incidence of rent.	Area.	Area.	Area.	Area.	Area.	Area.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence of rent.	Non-occupancy.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
	Acres.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Krishnaganj ..	11,251.93	23,301 14 6	2 1 2	69.05	50.74	20.40	1,422.08	4,509 2 0	3 2 9	66.28	231 11 0	3 7 5	
Jibannagar ..	23,597.68	47,126 12 11	1 15 11	136.12	11.43	7.91	1,384.85	4,009 15 0	2 14 4	59.48	188 2 7	3 2 7	
Hanskhali ..	28,112.30	49,979 10 8	1 12 5	6.40	15.62	4.25	1,657.04	6,467 10 2	3 14 5	207.19	859 8 10	4 2 4	
Chuadanga ..	39,074.98	77,042 10 6	1 15 7	81.48	39.80	27.61	1,182.46	3,654 12 2	3 1 5	175.31	585 11 10	3 5 5	
Damurhuda ..	26,956.39	61,024 6 5	2 4 3	100.21	21.05	9.08	2,237.75	6,554 5 2	2 14 10	38.40	132 4 11	3 7 1	
Kumarkhali ..	19,114.47	69,391 3 1	3 10 1	.....	.....	.....	45.98	2 0 0 0	4 8 9	.....	.....	.....
Kushtia ..	30,053.82	76,503 14 9	2 8 9	.....	.....	.....	1,262.08	4,366 9 0	3 7 4	11.43	48 8 3	4 3 0	
Mirpur ..	38,292.29	1,09,444 7 2	2 13 9	8.64	5.08	10.19	1,284.51	4,622 9 6	3 9 6	.....	422 6 0	4 4 11	
Alamdanga ..	42,280.26	1,01,089 8 4	2 6 3	29.07	.....	4.83	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Khokas ..	11,738.37	38,615 1 11	3 4 8	.11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ranaghat ..	41,063.61	89,987 3 4	2 3 7	20.72	92.25	10.93	10,539.50	33,263 3 10	3 2 6	2,952.30	10,223 15 6	3 7 5	
Chakdah ..	29,820.04	92,502 9 4	3 1 7	375.97	38.06	266.81	5,822.76	28,709 2 10	4 14 1	1,478.35	6,455 8 4	4 5 10	
Haringhata ..	19,418.86	58,903 7 1	3 0 6	198.27	55.74	121.08	1,913.04	8,310 7 3	4 5 6	240.62	1,115 8 6	4 10 2	
Krishnagar ..	26,431.98	59,372 15 9	2 3 11	6.35	191.18	.....	4,883.24	20,088 4 1	4 1 8	753.08	3,396 8 10	4 8 2	
Nabedwip ..	8,198.51	23,020 7 2	2 12 11	5.69	140.82	.....	2,099.95	9,456 14 3	4 8 0	456.84	2,111 4 11	4 9 11	
Santipur ..	14,053.42	36,960 7 5	2 10 1	.10	15.31	.....	4,847.64	19,733 9 11	2 12 6	856.27	4,007 11 2	4 10 11	
Kalganj ..	17,820.09	54,946 10 9	3 1 4	.57	424.87	73.13	4,861.66	10,080 0 5	2 2 7	130.59	381 12 10	2 14 9	
Nakashipara ..	19,042.20	38,230 0 4	2 0 1	20.53	306.20	19.09	7,669.06	24,255 10 6	3 2 7	448.24	1,490 11 5	3 5 3	
Tehatta ..	31,090.85	78,328 9 1	2 8 2	180.63	51.64	15.24	4,433.28	14,809 12 10	3 5 5	90.17	384 11 5	4 4 3	
Meherpur ..	70,120.12	116.07	2 9 2	116.07	33.26	26.37	634.99	2,227 12 4	3 6 5	6.62	17 13 9	2 11 2	
Chapra ..	18,183.63	37,213 10 8	2 0 9	102.39	31.99	.....	276.36	888 0 9	3 ..	21.34	85 7 7	4 0 1	
Karimpur ..	43,753.03	103,043 14 2	2 5 8	22.07	1.15	1.04	1,344.06	3,194 4 3	2 6 1	2.09	6 0 0	2 13 11	
Daulatpur ..	23,558.37	66,815 4 11	2 13 4	25.41	.....	101.31	3,633.98	14,766 10 6	4 0 4	30.06	87 2 4	2 14 4	
Gangni ..	46,344.67	122,886 15 11	2 10 5	.....	.....	5.31	2,343.85	8,152 10 6	3 7 7	130.85	449 11 3	3 6 11	
Bheramara ..	502.40	1,180 1 3	2 5 7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total ..	636,969.65	1,587,032 12 1	2 7 10	1,505.85	1,526.19	724.40	65,660.56	2,32,323 8 6	3 8 7	8,253.63	32,682 5 3	3 15 4	

Thana.	Real utbandi.										Total area of thana.
	Not ordinarily so held.					Ordinarily so held.					
	Settled and occupancy.		Non-occupancy.			Area of plots in which occupancy rights occurred.		Area of plots in which occupancy rights have not accrued.			
	Area.	Rate of rent.	Area.	Rate of rent.	Area.	Rate of rent.	Area.	Rate of rent.	Area.	Average rate of rent for the whole district for real utbandi of all classes.	
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
	Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.	Acres.	
Krishnaganj	332.79	....	178.08	....	1,040.06	....	627.93	Aman	3,667.22	37,397.74
Jibannagar	39.93	....	1.69	....	277.59	....	319.87	Aus ..	2,083.41	49,251.44
Hanskhali	737.89	....	265.50	....	923.50	....	2,025.17	Bastu	6,016.29	66,112.17
Chudanga	702.46	....	28.10	....	881.92	....	1,481.68	Udbastu	4,451.93	71,410.71
Damurhuda	1,804.84	....	154.73	....	5,385.35	....	2,804.71	Dih or Bhiti	12,425.78	75,232.42
Kumarkhali	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Garden	44	45,012.58
Kushtia ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Sugarcane	45.98	62,843.77
Mirpur	154.96	....	25.59	....	498.33	....	349.73	Bamboo	2,302.12	70,774.42
Alamdanga	116.83	....	7.40	....	502.04	....	540.00	Thatching grass	2,548.40	85,436.52
Khoksa ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Tamarind	....	20,673.00
Ranaghat	359.83	....	107.76	....	101.15	....	888.34	Turneric	14,948.88	105,942.05
Chakdah ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Jute ..	7,361.11	78,314.37
Haringhata	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Ditch	2,153.66	42,008.55
Krishnagar	862.79	....	438.47	....	2,898.00	....	12,949.95	Betel	22,785.53	88,611.11
Nabaiwip	71.52	....	17.72	....	1,666.46	....	2,860.75	Vegetables	7,173.24	25,520.03
Santipur ..	636.46	....	203.79	....	79.13	....	3,737.00	Cocoonut	11,077.29	48,937.11
Kaliganj ..	789.02	....	21.86	....	5,437.73	....	16,924.91	Datepalm	27,965.77	71,789.00
Nakashipara	817.36	....	445.72	....	4,781.91	....	25,602.39	Chillies	39,764.68	89,562.99
Tehatta ..	2,065.83	....	41.20	....	23,784.49	....	20,352.70	Shop	50,767.67	118,993.82
Meherpur ..	1,294.29	....	389.32	....	15,734.86	....	14,079.73		32,159.81	85,340.31
Chupra ..	1,295.14	....	125.21	....	16,964.59	....	13,631.69		32,314.33	82,692.02
Karunpur	1,769.62	....	65.44	....	10,788.42	....	6,895.18		20,864.81	91,294.91
Daulatpur	1,323.44	....	138.70	....	2,371.19	....	1,797.64		9,295.01	48,099.96
Gangni ..	1,421.94	....	344.17	....	3,291.07	....	6,382.66		13,914.54	84,288.66
Bheramara	....	....	....	....	....	....	....		....	703.94
Total	16,796.94	....	3,000.05	....	98,124.79	....	1,34,252.03		3,26,087.90	1,646,243.60

জিলা নদীয়া ; থানা নাকালীপাড়া ; মোজা তেতুলবাড়িয়া নং ৬৮ ; ভৌজি নং ৪১০। ৪১২। ৪১৫ ;
পরগণা রাজপুর ; খতিয়ান নং ২৬।

উপরিস্থ স্বত্ব।			অত্র স্বত্বের দেয়।		মন্তব্য।	১০৫ ধারার নং মোংসত ধার্য।	
পরিচয়।	পরম্পর অংশ।		খাজানা।	সেস।		খাজানা।	কোন সন হইতে।
১ক মহাল	..	/২,১২	বিঘা প্রতি		স্বত্বের অনুসঙ্গ কলম		
১১ক মহাল	...	/২,১২	নিরিখ		প্রদর্শিত মতে খাজানা		
১২ক এবং মহাল	...	/২,১৩	আমন ১০/৬		সন সন পরিবর্তিত হয়।		
দং গোষ্ঠবিহারী ব্রহ্ম			আশা ৬				
১খ মহাল	...	১৩৬/৮	আউশ ৬/৬				
১১খ মহাল	...	১৩৬/৮	খিচা ৬/৬				
১২খ এবং মহাল	...	১৩৬/৮					
দং রামচন্দ্র চক্রবর্তী গং							
১গ মহাল	...	৮					
১১গ মহাল	...	৮					
১২গ মহাল	...	৮					
১৩গ এক পত্তনী	...	/১১/					
দং নৃসিংহচন্দ্র পাল চৌধুরী গং							
জের							

অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ ও বিস্তারিত দখল।	অংশ।	স্বত্বের শ্রেণী ও বিবরণ।	স্বত্বের বিশেষ নিয়ম ও অনুসঙ্গ।
রায়তী দং ঠাণ্ড মণ্ডল পিং মৃত খাতির মণ্ডল ... মুন্সী মণ্ডল ... মহ জহরদিন মণ্ডল ... পিং মৃত জিতু মণ্ডল	১০ ১০ ১০ ১০	রায়তী স্থিতিবান।	নামমাত্র উঠবন্ধি ১৮০ - ধার প্রযোজ্য নহে। সন সন পতিত বাংদে হাসিলের পরিমাণ অনুসারে ১৮ ইঞ্চির ৭৫ হাতের রসির মাপে উপরের লিখিত নিরিখে খাজানা ধার্য হয়।

বঙ্গীয় প্রজাস্বত্ব বিধায়ক আইনের ১০৫ক,
১০৬। ১০৮ক, ১০৯ক, ধারামতে পরিবর্তন।

ধানা নাকালীপাড়া, মৌজা তেতুলবাড়িয়া ৬৮ খতিয়ান নং ২৬, পৃ: নং ৩।

উপরিহ বহ।		অত্র বহের দেয়।		উপরিহ বহ।		অত্র বহের দেয়।	
পরিচয়।	পরস্পর অংশ।	খাজানা।	সেস।	পরিচয়।	পরস্পর অংশ।	খাজানা।	সেস।
ইজা							
১ঘ মহাল	...	১/৭					
১১ঘ মহাল	...	১/৬					
১২ঘ এবং মহাল	...	১/৭					
দং রামভারণ ব্রহ্ম গং							
১ঙ মহাল	...	১/৭					
১১ঙ মহাল	...	১/৭					
১২ঙ এবং মহাল	...	১/৬					
দং করুণানিধান ব্রহ্ম গং							
১চ মহাল	...	১/৬					
১১চ মহাল	...	১/৭					
১২চ এবং মহাল	...	১/৭					
দং রহলক্ষী দাসী							
১জ মহাল	...	৪১৩					
১১জ মহাল	...	৪১২					
১২জ এবং মহাল	...	৪১২					
দং প্রিয়ভাসিনী দাসী							
১ঝ মহাল	...	৫১/					
১১ঝ মহাল	...	৫১/					
১২ঝ এবং মহাল	...	৫১/					
দং ননীমোহন ব্রহ্ম	...						
১ঞ মহাল	...	৪১৪					
১১ঞ মহাল	...	৪১৪					
১২ঞ এবং মহাল	...	৪১৪					
দং রামরজিনী দাসী গং							
১ট মহাল	...	৩১১৩					
১১ট মহাল	...	৩১১৪					
১২ট এবং মহাল	...	৩১১৩					
দং বামনদাস ব্রহ্ম							
১ঠ মহাল	...	২১১/					
১১ঠ মহাল	...	২১১/					
১২ঠ এবং মহাল	...	২১১/					
দং ননীগোপাল বসু গং							
১ডক পত্তনী	...	১১১/					
১৪ক এবং ইজারা	...	১১১/১					
দং বিহুতিভূষণ পাল							
চৌধুরী গং							
১ডগ পত্তনী	...	৫১১/৫					
১৪গ এবং ইজারা	...	১১১/২					
দং জীশচন্দ্র পাল চৌধুরী							
১ডঘ দং ত্রিগুণাঙ্গসাদ পাল	...	১/৭					
চৌধুরী গং							
১ডঙ দং অপেক্ষনাথ ধর	...	৫১১/৫					
	১.						

জিলা নদীয়া থানা চাপরা মোজা শোনপুকুর নং ৪।

ভৌমিক নং ৪৪১

পরগণা

বাগোয়ান

খতিয়ান নং ১৫২

উপরিহৃত বিষয়।		অত্র স্বত্বের দেয়।		মন্তব্য।	১০৫ ধারার নং মোঃ মতে ধার্য।	
পরিচয়।	পরস্পর অংশ।	খাজানা।	সেস।		খাজানা।	কোন সন হইতে।
২ক দং জয়হুর্গা দাসী ...	৥০	বিঘা প্রতি নিরিখ		স্বত্বের অহুসঙ্গ কলমে প্রদর্শিত মতে খাজানা সন সন পরিবর্তিত হয়।		
২খ দং সরোজরঞ্জন সিংহ গং	৥০ ১৮	বাস্ত ৫৮ আউশ ১১/০ খিচা ৩০ আশা ৮০				

অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ ও বিস্তারিত দখল।		অংশ।	স্বত্বের শ্রেণী ও বিবরণ।	স্বত্বের নিয়ম ও বিশেষ অহুসঙ্গ।
উঠবন্দি।			রায়তি।	
দং ফতু মণ্ডল, পিং মৃত ইয়াছিন মণ্ডল ...		১৮	দখলিস্বত্ব বিশিষ্ট।	এই খতিয়ানের দাগ উঠবন্দি প্রথায় সাধারণতঃ বন্দোবস্ত হয়। সন সন পতিত বাদে হাসিলের পরিমাণ অহুসারে ১৮ ইঞ্চির ৮০ হাতের রসির মাপে উপরের লিখিত নিরিখে খাজানা ধার্য হয়।

বঙ্গীয় প্রজাপত্র বিধায়ক আইনেয় ১০৫ক, ১০৬।
১০৮ক, ১০৯ক ধারামতে পরিবর্তন।

খং নং ১৫২ অত্র স্বত্বের আপন দখলীয় জমির বিবরণ।				অত্র স্বত্বের হিস্তা।	একর ও একরের শতাংশ হিসাবে জমির পরিমাণ।			
দাগ নং।	উক্তর সীমানা দখলকার।	জমির রকম।	মন্তব্য।		মোট জমি।		অত্র স্বত্বের রসদীয় জমি।	
					এঃ	শঃ	এঃ	শঃ
৮১৬	হিজুল বিবি ...	বাড়ী ...	ঘর ১	১২				০৭
১২০০	ছাবের ...	আউশ ...		১২				৪৫
১২০১	পূর্ণ বিবি গং ...	আউশ ...		১২				৩৫
১৩০৭	গুছমান ...	আউশ ...		১২				১৮
							১	০৫
অধীনস্থ স্বত্বের পাজানা প্রার্থকের খতিয়ান নং (মার বাটা)।		নিচস্থ স্বত্বের তালিকা।						
		নাই						
অত্র স্বত্বের নিজ দখলীয় ও প্রজাবিলি জমির মোট পরিমাণ।								

জিলা নদীয়া থানা চাপরা মৌজা শোনপুকুর নং ৪
জোজি নং ৪৪১ পরগণা বাগোয়ান খতিয়ান নং ১৬৮

উপরিস্থ বস্তু ।		অত্র বস্তুর দেয় ।		মন্তব্য ।	১০৫ ধারার নং মোঃ মতে খাৰ্য্য ।	
পরিচয় ।	পরাম্পর অংশ ।	খাজানা ।	সেদ ।		খাজানা ।	কোন সন হইতে ।
২ক নং জরতুর্গা দানী ...	৥০	নিষাপ্রতি		বস্তুর অমূল্য কলমে ঐদর্শিত মতে খাজানা সন সন পরিবর্তিত হয় ।		
২খ নং সরোজরজন সিংহ গং	৥০	খিচা ৯০ আউস ও				
	১৮	আমন ১১/০ আশা ১/০				

অত্র বস্তুর বিবরণ ও বিস্তারিত দপল ।				অংশ ।	বস্তুর প্রণী ও বিবরণ ।	বস্তুর বিশেষ নিয়ম ও অমূল্য ।
উঠবন্দী ।					রায়তি	এই খতিয়ানের দাগ উঠবন্দী প্রথায়
দং বাশী সেথ ...	...	...	...	১০	দখলীশ্বত্বশূন্য	সাধারণতঃ বন্দোবস্ত হয় ।
রজনী সেথ ...	...	...	...	১০	১৩২৪ সন	সন'সন পতিত বাদে হাসিলের পরিমাণ
আলম সেথ ...	...	...	...	১০	হইতে ।	অমূল্যে ১৮ ইঞ্চির ৮০ হাতের রসীর
ইমান সেথ, পিং মৃত হেকমত সেথ, সাং বড়				১০		মাপে উপরের লিখিত নিরিখে খাজানা
আমুলিয়া ।				১৮		ধার্য্য হয় ।
						দখলীশ্বত্বশূন্য জমি পতিত পড়িলে মালিকের
						খাসে যায় ।

বঙ্গীয় প্রজাপত্র কিসক আইনের ১০৫ক, ১০৬।
১০৮ক, ১০৯ক ধারামতে পরিবর্তন ।

[illegible]

জিলা নদীয়া থানা চাপরা মৌজা শোনপুকুর নং ৪
 জোজি নং ৪৪১ পরগণা বাগোয়ান খতিয়ান নং ২০৬

উপরিস্থিত স্থান।		অত্র স্থানের দেয়।		মন্তব্য।	১০৬ খতিয়ান নং মৌজা ক্ষেত্র খাতিয়া।	
পরিচয়।	পত্রস্বর অংশ।	খাজানা।	সেস।		খাজানা।	কোন সন হইতে।
২ক নং জয়চুর্গা দাসী ... ২খ নং সরোজবজ্ঞন সিংহ গং।	৥০ ৥০ ১৮	বিঘা প্রতি নিবিধ আউশ ১১/০ খিচা ১০ আশা ১০		স্থানের অস্থায়ী কলমে প্রদর্শিত মতে খাজানা সন সন পরিবর্তিত হয়।		
অত্র স্থানের বিবরণ ও বিস্তারিত দখল।				অংশ।	স্থানের প্রণী ও বিবরণ।	স্থানের বিশেষ নিয়ম ও অস্থায়ী।
উঠবন্দী দং মুকুন্দচন্দ্র ঘোষ ... পিঃ মৃত মুনিবাম ঘোষ	...	...	১	বায়তি ... দখলিস্বত্ব শূন্য।	এই খতিয়ানের দাগ উঠবন্দী প্রথায় সাধারণতঃ বন্দোবস্ত হয়। সন সন পতিত বাদে হাসিলের পরিমাণ অস্থায়ী ১৮ ইঞ্চি ৮০ হাতের রসিব মাপে উপবেল লিখিত নিবিধে খাজানা ধারণ্য হয়। দখলিস্বত্ব শূন্য জমি পতিত পড়িলে মালিকের খাসে যায়।	

বঙ্গীয় প্রজাপত্র বিধায়ক আইনের ১০৫ক,
 ১০৬। ১০৮ক, ১০৯ক ধারামতে পরিবর্তন।

১৯২১-২২ অত্র স্বত্বের আপন দখলীর জমির বিবরণ।					অত্র স্বত্বের হিস্তা।	একর ও একরের শতাংশ হিসাবে জমির পরিমাণ।			
ক্রম নং।	উক্তর শীর্ষানা দখলকার।	জমির রকম।	মন্তব্য।	মোট জমি।		অত্র স্বত্বের রসদীর জমি।			
১৯২১	মানিক ...	আউশ ...		১-	এঃ	শঃ	এঃ	শঃ	
							১	৯৯	
অধীনস্থ স্বত্বের পাঞ্জনা- প্রাপকের পত্তিমান নং (মাধ্যম বাটা)।					নীচস্থ স্বত্বের তালিকা।				
নাই									
অত্র স্বত্বের নিজ দখলীয় ও প্রজাবিলি জমির মোট পরিমাণ।									

জিলা নদীয়া থানা চাপরা মৌজা শোনপুকুর নং ৪
 ভৌজি নং ১৪১ পরগণা বাগোয়ান খতিয়ান নং ১৫১

উপরিস্থিত স্বত্ব।		অত্র স্বত্বের দেয়।		মন্তব্য।	১০৭ খারার নং মোঃ মতে ধার্য।	
পরিচয়।	পরাম্পর অংশ।	খাজানা।	সেস।		খাজানা।	কোন সন হইতে।
২ক দং জয়চুর্গা দাসী ... ২খ দং সবোজরজন সিংহ গং।	৥০ ৥০ ১৮	বিখাপ্রতি নিরিখ খিচা ৥০ আউশ ১১/০ আশা /০		স্বত্বের অমুসঙ্গ কলমে প্রদর্শিত মতে খাজানা সন সন পবিবর্তিত হয়।		

অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ ও বিস্তারিত দখল।		অংশ।	স্বত্বের শ্রেণী ও বিবরণ।	স্বত্বের বিশেষ নিয়ম ও অমুসঙ্গ।
উঠবন্দি দং ফটিক সেখ, পিঃ মৃত গোবাটাদ সেখ ...		১৮	বাযতি অস্তান্ত দাগে দখলীস্বত্ব- বিগিষ্ট ১০৭৩/১৮৯২ দাগে দখলী- স্বত্বশূন্য।	এই খতিয়ানের দাগ উঠবন্দি প্রধায় সাধারণতঃ বন্দোবস্ত হয়। সন সন পতিত বাদে হাসিলের পরিমাণ অমুসারে ১৮ ইঞ্চি ব ৮০ হাতের বসীষ মাপে উপরের লিখিত নিরিখে খাজানা ধার্য হয়। দখলীস্বত্বশূন্য জমি পতিত পড়িলে মালিকেব খাসে যায়।

বঙ্গীয় প্রজাপত্র বিষয়ক আইনের ১০৫ক,
 ১০৬/১০৮ক, ১০৯ক ধাবামতে পরিবর্তন।

জিলা নদীয়া থানা চাপরা মৌজা শোনপুকুর নং ৪

ভৌজি নং ৪৪১

পরগণা বাগোয়ান

খতিয়ান নং ১৫০

উপরিবর্ণিত স্বত্ব।		অত্র স্বত্বের বৈধতা।		মন্তব্য।	১০৫ ধারার নং মোং মতে ধার্য।	
পরিচয়।	পরাম্পর অংশ।	খাজানা।	সেস।		খাজানা।	কোন সন হইতে।
২ক দং জয়দুর্গা দাসী ... ২খ দং সরোজরঞ্জন সিংহ গং।	৥০ ৥০ ১৮	বিষা প্রতি নিরিখ আউশ ১১/০ খিচা ১০ আশা ১০		স্বত্বের অস্থায়ী কলমে প্রদর্শিতমতে খাজানা সন সন পরিবর্তিত হয়।		
অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ ও বিস্তারিত দখল।			অংশ।	স্বত্বের শ্রেণী ও বিবরণ।	স্বত্বের বিশেষ নিয়ম ও অস্থায়ী।	
উঠবন্ধি দং কতু মণ্ডল পিং মৃত ইয়াছিন মণ্ডল			১৮	রায়তি স্থিতিবান	এই খতিয়ানের দাগ উঠবন্ধি প্রথার সাধারণতঃ বন্দোবস্ত হয় না বলিয়া ১৮০ ধারা প্রযোজ্য নহে। সন সন পতিতবাদে হাঙ্গলের পরিমাণ অস্থায়ী ১৮ ইঞ্চির ৮০ হাতের রসির মাপে উপরের লিখিত নিরিখে খাজানা ধার্য হয়।	
বঙ্গীয় প্রজাপত্র বিধির আইনের ১০৫ ক, ১০৬। ১০০ক, ১০১ ক ধারামতে পরিবর্তন।						

খং নং ১৪০ অত্র বছরের আপন দখলীয় জমির বিবরণ।				অত্র বছরের হিস্তা।	একর ও একরের শতাংশ হিসাবে জমির পরিমাণ।			
দাপ নং।	উক্তের সীমানা দখলকার।	জমির রকম।	মন্তব্য।		মোট জমি।		অত্র বছরের রসদীয় জমি।	
১১৪০	মহবত ...	আউশ ...	.....	১৮	এঃ	শঃ	এঃ	শঃ
								১৭
অবশেষ বছরের খাজানা প্রাপকের খতিয়ান নং (যদি বাটা।)		নীচের বছরের তালিকা।						
		নাই						
অত্র বছরের নিজ দখলীয় ও প্রজঃ বিলি জমির মোট পরিমাণ।								

জিলা নদীয়া থানা চাপরা মৌজা শোনপুকুর নং ৪

ভৌজি নং ৪৪১

পরগণা বাগোয়ান

খতিয়ান নং ১৩৯

উপরিষ্ঠ স্বত্ব ।		অত্র স্বত্বের প্রায় ।		মন্তব্য ।	১০৫ ধারায় নং মোং মতে ধার্য্য ।	
পরিচয় ।	পরস্পর অংশ ।	খাজানা ।	সেস্ ।		খাজানা ।	কোন সন হইতে ।
২ক দং অরহুর্গা দাসী ...	৥০	বিঘা প্রতি নিরিত আউশ ১১/০ বাস্ত ৫৯/০ খিচা ৯০ আশা /০		স্বত্বের অমুসঙ্গ কলমে প্রদর্শিতমতে খাজানা সন সন পরিবর্তিত হয় ।		
২খ দং সরোজরজন সিংহ গং ।	৥০					
	১-					
অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ ও বিস্তারিত দপল ।			অংশ ।	স্বত্বের প্রণী ও বিবরণ ।	স্বত্বের বিশেষ নিয়ম ও অনুসঙ্গ ।	
উঠবান্ধ				রায়তি দখলিস্বত্ব- শূন্য ১৩২৪ সন হইতে	এই খতিয়ানের দাগ উঠবান্ধ প্রথায় সাধারণতঃ বন্দোবস্ত হয় না বলিয়া ১৮০ ধারা প্রযোজ্য নহে ।	
দং পাচু সেখ ...			৥০		সন সন পতিত বাদে হাসিলের পরিমাণ অমুসারে ১৮ ইঞ্চির ৮০ হাতের রসির মাপে উপরের লিখিত নিরিখে খাজানা ধার্য্য হয় ।	
দং মরি সেখ পিং যুত সন্তোষ সেখ			৥০		দখলিস্বত্বশূন্য জমি পতিত পড়িলে মালিকের খাসে যায় ।	
			১-			
বঙ্গীয় প্রজাপত্র বিবয়ক আইনের ১০৫ক ১০৬১০৮ক, ১০৯ক ধারামতে পরিবর্তন ।						

খং নং ১৩৯ অত্র স্বত্বের আপন দখলীয় জমির বিবরণ।				অত্র স্বত্বের চিত্র।	একর ও একরের শতাংশ হিসাবে জমির পরিমাণ।			
দাগ নং।	উক্তর সীমানা দখলকার।	জমির রকম।	মন্তব্য।		মোট জমি।		অত্র স্বত্বের রসদায়ী জমি।	
					এঃ	শঃ	এঃ	শঃ
৬৬	অবিচ্ছিন্ন ...	আউশ	ঘর ১	১				৮৪
৭০৯	নয়ান ...	বাড়ী		১				০৬
১৭৮৬	লক্ষণ ..	আউশ		১				২৬
							১	১৬
অধীনস্থ স্বত্বের প্রজানা- প্রাপকের খতিয়ান নং (মাধ্যম বাটা)।				নিচস্থ স্বত্বের তালিকা।				
নাহি								
অত্র স্বত্বের নিজ দখলীয় ও প্রজাবিলি জমির মোট পরিমাণ।								

জিলা নদীয়া থানা আলমডাঙ্গা মৌজা হাটভাঙ্গা নং ১।

ভৌজি নং ৫৯

পরগণা রাজপুর

খতিয়ান নং ১১১

রেঃ সাঃ নং ১৯৯

উপরিস্থিত স্বত্ব।		অত্র স্বত্বের দেয়।		মন্তব্য।	১০০ ধারার নং মোঃ ক্ষেত্রে ধার্য।	
পরিচয়।	পরস্পর অংশ।	খাজানা।	সেস।		খাজানা।	কোন সন হইতে।
১১০ নং হেমন্তকুমারী দাসী।	১২	৥৮/৯ ...	৮	মৌখিক		
অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ ও বিস্তারিত দখল।				অংশ।	স্বত্বের প্রেরণ ও বিবরণ।	স্বত্বের বিশেষ নিয়ম ও অমুসঙ্গ।
রায়তি ... নং আলী মালতে ... পিং মৃত ওমেদ মালতে ... ফকির মালতে ... বহিত মালতে ... মমত বিবি ... পিং মৃত ককিল মালতে ... সাং ছাট বোয়ালিয়া।				১০ ৮/৮ ৮/৮ ১২	রায়তি স্থিতিবান।	নাম মাত্র উঠবন্দী ১৮০ ধারা প্রযোজ্য নহে।
বঙ্গীয় প্রজাপত্র বিবরণক আইনের ১০৫ক, ১০৬।১০৮ক, ১০৯ক ধারামতে পরিবর্তন।				১২		

ফং নং ১১১ অত্র স্বত্বের আপন দখলীয়া জমির বিবরণ।				অত্র স্বত্বের তিস্তা।	একর ও একরের শতাংশ হিসাবে জমির পরিমাণ।			
খাপ নং।	উক্তর সীমানা দখলকার।	জমির প্রকর।	মন্তব্য।		মোট জমি।		অত্র স্বত্বের রসদার জমি।	
৩৩৭	সর্বোৎকর্ষ ...	আউল ...		১	এঃ	শঃ	এঃ	শঃ ২১
অধীনস্থ স্বত্বের খাজানা- প্রাপকের খতিয়ান নং (মার বাটা)।		নীচস্থ স্বত্বের তালিকা।						
		নাই।						
অত্র স্বত্বের আপন দখলীয়া ও প্রজাবিলি জমির মোট পরিমাণ।								

জিলা নদীয়া থানা আলমডাঙ্গা মৌজা হাট্টাঙ্গা নং ১

তোজি নং ৫৯

পরগণা রাজপুর

খতিয়ান নং ১১২

রে: সা: নং ১৯৯

উপরিস্থ শব্দ ।		অত্র শব্দের দেয় ।		মন্তব্য ।	১০৫ ধারার নং মোং স্বতঃ ধার্য্য ।	
পরিচয় ।	পরস্পর অংশ ।	পাঞ্জানা ।	সেস ।		পাঞ্জানা ।	কোন সন হইতে ।
১১০ নং হেমন্তকুমারী দাসী	১২	৮৥/৩	১৩	মৌখিক বিষা প্রতি নিরিখ পটল ২২ আউশ ১২ হলুদ ৩২		
অত্র শব্দের বিবরণ ও বিস্তারিত দখল ।			অংশ ।	শব্দের প্রার্থী ও বিবরণ ।	শব্দের বিশেষ নিয়ম ও অনুসঙ্গ ।	
রায়তী দং আহাদ আলী মণ্ডল পিং মৃত জরিপ মণ্ডল			...	১২	রায়তী স্থিতিবান ।	নামমাত্র উঠবন্দি ১৮০ ধারা প্রযোজ্য নহে । সন সন উপরের লিখিত নিরিখে পাঞ্জানা ধার্য্য হয় ।
বঙ্গীয় প্রজাপত্র বিষয়ক আইনের ১০৫ক, ১০৬। ১০৮ক, ১০৯ক ধারামতে পরিবর্তন ।						

খণ্ড- ১১২				অত্র বহের আপন দখলীয়া জমির বিবরণ।		অত্র বহের স্থিতি।		একর ও একরের শতাংশ হিসাবে জমির পরিমাণ।			
খণ্ড নং।	উক্তর সীমানার দখলকার।	জমির রকম।		মন্তব্য।				মোট জমি।		অত্র বহের রসদীয়া জমি।	
								এঃ	শঃ	এঃ	শঃ
৪৮	ফকির ...	আউশ	...			১					১২
২৯৮	আলী ...	আউশ	...			১					১৭
৩৭২	ফকির গং ...	আউশ	...			১					৭২
										২	৬১
অধীনস্থ বহের খাজানা- প্রাপকের খতিয়ান নং (মাগ বাটা)।		নিচস্থ বহের তালিকা।									
		নাই									
অত্র বহের নিজ দখলীয়া ও প্রজাবিলি জমির মোট পরিমাণ।											

জিলা নদীয়া থানা চাপরা মৌজা শোনপুর নং ৪

তোজি নং ১৬১০

পরগণা বাগোয়ান

খতিয়ান নং ১৯৫

উপরিষ্ঠ স্বত্ব।		অত্র স্বত্বের দেয়।		মন্তব্য।	১০৫ ধারার নং মোং মতে	
পরিচয়।	পরস্পর অংশ।	খাজানা।	সেস।		খাজানা।	কোন সন হইতে।
২৯৩ক দং প্রিয়ভাসিনী দাসী গং	১/৬৥/১	১৥১/৮	১০	মৌখিক।		
২৯৩খ দং শরৎচন্দ্রব্রহ্ম গং।	১/৬৥/১	১৥১/৮	১০	বিষা প্রাপ্তি নিরিখ।		
২৯৩গ দং বিজুতিভূষণ মিত্র গং।	১/৬৥/১	১৥১/৮	১০	নাল ১।০।		
	১-	৫৮/০				

অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ ও বিস্তারিত মতল।			অংশ।	স্বত্বের প্রাপ্তি ও বিবরণ।	স্বত্বের বিশেষ নিয়ম ও অনুসঙ্গ।
রায়তী				রায়তী	নামমাত্র উঠবন্দি ১৮০ ধারা প্রযোজ্য নহে।
দং খোকাই সেথ ...	...	...	৥০	দখলি স্বত্বশূন্য	
কালি সেথ ...	...	...	৥০	১৩১৮ সন হইতে।	প্রজার আংশিক এস্তাকার স্বত্ব আছে।
পিতা মৃত নিমাই সেথ					
সাং মালিয়াপোতা থানা তেহট্ট		...	১-		সন সন উপরের লিখিত নিরিখে খাজানা ধার্য হয়।

বন্দীর প্রজাবন্ধ বিবরণ আইনের ১০৫ক, ১০৫খ, ১০৫গ, ১০৫ঘ ধারা মতে পরিবর্তন।

খং নং ২০০ অত্র বছের আপন দখলীর জমির পরিমাণ।				অত্র বছের হিস্তা।	একর ও একরের শতাংশ হিসাবে জমির পরিমাণ।			
খাপ নং।	উক্তর সীমানা দখলকার।	জমির রকম।	মন্তব্য।		মোট জমি।		অত্র বছের রসদীর জমি।	
৪২০	মোঃ সুলতান	আউশ		১	এঃ	শঃ	এঃ	শঃ
							১	৪৮
অধীনস্থ বছের খাজানা- প্রাপকের খতিয়ান নং (মাস বাট)।		নীচস্থ বছের তালিকা।						
		নাই						
অত্র বছের নিজ দখলীর ও প্রজাবিলি জমির মোট পরিমাণ।								

APPENDIX VIII.

Letter from Director of Land Records forwarding Utbandi report.

No. XLIV—14-2864, dated Calcutta, the 6th April 1923.

From—A. K. JAMESON, Esq., I.C.S., Director of Land Records, Bengal,

To—The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department.

In reply to your letter No. 1093 L.R., dated the 3rd February 1923, I have the honour to submit herewith a copy of the Settlement Officer of Nadia's report on the subject of utbandi. It appears to me to be a very clear, comprehensive and well-balanced statement of the facts and a judicious appreciation of the issues involved. Having no practical experience of the utbandi problem as it is found in Nadia, I am not in a position to add to or to criticise the facts as they appear in the report, and I propose to confine myself in my remarks to a consideration of the deductions which appear to follow from those facts. The literature on the subject of utbandi is very considerable, but much of what was written before the recent settlement operations were undertaken is of little value as being based on ideas generalized from inadequate data. Now for the first time we are in a position to state with accuracy and in considerable detail what the actual facts of the situation are and how the utbandi system works in practice at the present moment. The problem before us is entirely practical, to find a way out of the difficulties involved in the continuance of the system, and in order to do so it is necessary to keep firmly in mind what the system is at present and to ignore what it may have been in practice originally or what various persons may consider it to be theoretically. The report provides material for so doing and I shall not travel beyond what is to be found in it.

2. In the first place the area affected by the system of utbandi has been found to be much smaller than was expected. Hitherto on the basis of enquiries made many years ago it has been supposed that about two-thirds of the raiyati area was held on this system. It appears, however, from the figures given on page 20 of the report that out of a total raiyati area of 978,082 acres only 326,087 or 33·3 per cent. is locally known as utbandi, while if the criteria be adopted, which were taken by the settlement authorities for distinguishing what is really utbandi from what is merely called such but has none of its true characteristics, the area falls to 252,173 acres or 2·5 per cent. The real utbandi occurs on a large scale in only 12 out of the 24 thanas in the district. This, the Settlement Officer states, is not to be taken as implying that the area affected is decreasing, but merely that the earlier estimates were wrong. Granting this, however, it is a fact which deserves to be borne in mind that in the district where admittedly the problem is most acute, it affects only one-fourth of the area held by raiyats. I

do not mean to infer from this that the problem is not one that calls for solution. On the contrary it shows that it is of more manageable size than was anticipated and that the argument which has sometimes been used against Government interfering in the matter, namely, that it would cause widespread disturbance of the relations between landlord and tenant, loses much of its force when the extent of the area affected is thus shown to be comparatively small.

3. Before proceeding further, however, drawn in the Government resolution for it is necessary to insist on the distinction warranted with your letter under reply between utbandi as a series of legal incidents of a tenancy and utbandi as a method of assessing rent, and to consider separately under each head the bearings of the facts revealed in the report.

4. Originally an utbandi tenancy was one that fluctuated in its entirety from year to year and could not be said to have any continuing existence from one year to the next. As things have come to be now it appears to be a correct way of expressing one of the legal incidents to say that a tenant of an utbandi tenancy has the right to surrender any part of his tenancy at the end of the year and thereupon he is relieved of the liability to pay rent for the portion so surrendered. Another important legal incident is that he cannot acquire occupancy rights in any part of his tenancy until he has been in 12 years' continuous possession thereof. Continuous possession, whatever may have been the intention of the framers of the Act, has now come to mean beyond question continuous cultivation, or at least continuous payment of rent even though the land may be left fallow. A third legal incident of the tenancy was originally the obligation on the part of the landlord to measure the land every year. This, as explained by the Settlement Officer, has become reduced to the mere formality of comparing the plots held by a tenant with chithas based on measurement papers made many years ago and not brought up to date by fresh measurement. It has been practically replaced by the first incident noted above, the right of the tenant to piecemeal surrender, i.e., the initiative has passed from the landlord to the tenant, and in the settlement proceedings the criterion of periodical measurements for determining whether a tenancy was utbandi or not was practically abandoned.

5. If now we examine the report to see how far these legal incidents are observed, it will be apparent that they have almost disappeared in practice though they may still be admitted in theory. The consequence of surrender of a part of a holding would, in theory, be that the tenant would lose all lien on it and it would be liable to be settled with someone else. But it is definitely stated in the report that even in Block III, which is the home of real utbandi, "tenants usually return without opposition to the lands they had left fallow", i.e., those which they had theoretically surrendered. They tried, indeed, to found a claim on this to an absolute right of re-entry in such surrendered plots, and although they could not establish this as a legal right

it is apparent that the practice is very different from the theory. As the Settlement Officer says again on page 1 of his report: "In many instances they have been accustomed for generations to return without interference to the same plots after the interval of fallowing.....throughout the district many landlords did not in practice exercise their right of interference with this customary re-entry." Even in Block IV where, the Settlement Officer says, the relations between landlords and tenants are worst, it is apparent that the right of re-entry is freely exercised in practice.

Again, the consequence of non-accrual of occupancy rights is theoretically that the tenant is liable to be ejected at the end of the year. The Settlement Officer does not state definitely to what extent landlords exercise their rights in this respect, but the whole tenor of his report goes to show that tenants as a rule are allowed to remain in possession of such land as they wish to retain. No difference is made between lands in which occupancy rights have accrued and those in which they have not and this does not so much mean that occupancy raiyats are deprived of their occupancy rights as that even those who have not acquired them are in practice not ousted to any great extent. The case appears to be similar to that of the bhag-chasis in Midnapore who in theory—according to the landlords at least—have no rights in the land at all but in practice remain on from generation to generation.

6. Utbandi as a system of assessing rent is on a different footing, for here theory and practice coincide. The important feature of this is that different rates are assessed on land according to the crop grown and the area under each crop. It is not a method peculiar to the custom of utbandi, but may be and is in some cases, both in this and other districts, applied to ordinary occupancy raiyats. In Nadia, however, it flourishes more actively than elsewhere, rates are subject to more frequent alteration and new rates are constantly being devised.

7. Section VI of the report deals with the abuses to which the system is liable and they are sufficiently glaring. But I think it is apparent that they are associated far more with the method of assessing rent than with the legal incidents of the tenancy. As I have said, utbandi raiyats do not appear in practice to suffer unduly from the theoretical legal disabilities of their form of tenancy, but they do suffer very greatly from manipulation of rates. It is a matter of historical fact that assessment by rates for different crops was widely prevalent in Bengal in the old days. The reason why it should continue to flourish unabated—in all its worst forms in the utbandi area of Nadia, while it has almost disappeared from the rest of Bengal would be an interesting subject for discussion, but it is perhaps hardly relevant to the practical problem under consideration. The point I wish to make is that, however much you may improve the legal status of utbandi raiyats you confer practically no benefit on them if you allow the landlord assess what rates he pleases on different crops. This is the crux of the

whole situation and the bearing of it on the proposals set forth in the Government resolution is plain.

8. Elimination of all reference to utbandi in the Tenancy Act will not go any way towards solving the problem. For although by so doing the utbandi raiyat would automatically come under one or other of the ordinary categories of raiyats, he would still be liable to pay rent according to the rates fixed by the landlord. These, as shown in the report, are already very high and there is nothing to prevent them being increased to any extent if, as I understand, it is settled law that section 29 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, which limits enhancements to 2 annas in the rupee, applies to lump rentals and not to rates. The question of making it applicable to rates is one that deserves consideration, but would be more appropriately taken up in connection with the general revision of the Bengal Tenancy Act than here. Still less could any elaboration of the definition or the legal incidents of utbandi touch the real point of hardship. On the other hand, if conversion from assessment by rates for different crops to fixed lump rentals is successfully effected, it will automatically put an end to utbandi except in those areas where, with all its faults, it is the only system economically justified.

Conversion to consolidated rental being, then, as it appears to me, the essence of the problem, the only point which needs consideration is whether the machinery provided in the draft Bill is adequate for the purpose or not.

9. In the first place the Bill is purely permissive and throws on the parties—in practice this will generally mean on the tenant—the responsibility for setting the law in motion. It has been argued that this will render it inoperative on the ground that the tenants will never dare to put in applications to which they know the landlord is strongly opposed, and the analogy of the comparative failure of section 40, which provides for commutation of produce to money rents, is cited. I am not convinced that the analogy holds good. The argument is that if the prospect of getting a rent fixed which is only a fraction of the money value of the produce paid does not attract the tenant, the fixing of a rent will be actually little less than, and may be more than, what he is at present paying, will certainly not prove an inducement. But it is overlooked in this that the money value of the produce means nothing to the tenant, if he does not actually sell his produce, and probably the great majority of the produce rent-paying tenants do not sell but keep their share for the maintenance of themselves and their families. In such a case the prospect of having to pay a money rent which involves selling part at least of his produce may well seem to the ignorant tenant to possess little advantage over the existing system. It does not appear, moreover, that the system of produce rents, uneconomic and undesirable as it may be in theory, is attended by abuses which at all approximate to those connected with the utbandi system. If these are correctly represented in the report, it seems to me that

the failure of section 40 affords no adequate ground for supposing that the tenants in Nadia will not make use of the conversion offered to them in order to escape from a situation which must be intolerable.

10. The alternative based on the assumption of failure of the voluntary method is that Revenue Officers should be empowered to effect conversion where it appears to them advisable without any application from either landlord or tenant. I am very doubtful whether such a proceeding would be justified on considerations of practical policy. It is entirely right and desirable that the State should provide facilities for the solution of economic problems, but to force its own solution on the parties irrespective of their own volition, is a method which could be justified only by the conviction that such is the only way of avoiding grave evils to the community at large, such as disturbance of the peace or the absolute economic ruin of any section of the populace. It does not appear that the utbandi system, bad as it undoubtedly is, is an evil of such magnitude as to justify assumption of compulsory powers by the State and in any case one would have, I think, to be extremely certain that the proposed powers would be absolutely effective. But this is at least doubtful. The conversion might be effected on paper, but after the Revenue Officer had left, there would be little to prevent the landlord from selling up the holding for alleged arrears accrued before the conversion and resettling it on the old system. The same method of evading the Act may, of course, be resorted to in the case of voluntary conversions, but the fact that failure is a possibility appears to me to be a strong reason for refraining from having recourse to the drastic procedure of compulsory conversion unless and until it is proved that voluntary conversion is a failure. The only concession which I should feel inclined to recommend in this connection is that suggested by the Settlement Officer, namely, that a single joint application might be received from a body of tenants in the same village under the same landlord instead of insisting on separate applications from each individual tenant. This might give them a feeling of greater security and the applications could be split up by the Revenue Officer after receipt, each case being then dealt with separately.

11. As regards the detailed provisions of the Act, I have the following observations to make, taking the points in the order in which they have been dealt with by the Settlement Officer in section VII of his report:—

(a) The size of the holding. I agree with the Settlement Officer that while it is necessary for all the lands to be included in the application, there is no very strong reason why after conversion it should not be split up into holdings of convenient size. It would be necessary, of course, for the Revenue Officer to see that each holding contained a judicious mixture of better and worse land, but under section 180 A (6) he has the power to reject the application for conversion in part. It is understood that this is intended to provide for the exclusion of really poor land which cannot bear a uniform annual

rent and in which the system of assessment according to area cultivated in spite of its drawbacks is the only one economically justified. This would probably lead to the inclusion in the conversion proceedings of only land which is of more or less equal quality. In that case the assignment of rent on it should not present very great difficulties.

(b) I take it the Act is intended to apply to what has been recorded during settlement as "nominal utbandi", but I think the presence of the word "utbandi" even with the qualifying adjective is sufficient to bring it under the Act, and I hardly think any addition is necessary.

(c) I dislike the principle of payment of salami for conversion in respect of lands in which occupancy rights have not accrued, because I fear it will operate to check very considerably the filing of applications in these lands. The fact that occupancy rights have not accrued is due largely, I imagine, to the strict interpretation of the word "possession" as connoting cultivation or payment of rent. As stated above, it appears that fallow lands, even when no rent is paid for them, are to a large extent practically in possession of the tenant inasmuch as when the fallowing period is over he re-enters on them without opposition and they are not leased out to other persons. If this is the actual state of affairs over a large part of the area the interpretation of possession adopted in the settlement might be considered to be unduly strict, and if it had been relaxed, occupancy rights would have accrued in a very much larger proportion of the utbandi lands. On these grounds and on the ground that the landlords have, as appears from the report, consistently ignored the rights of the tenants as to accrual of occupancy rights, the equity of granting them salami may well be questioned. It is probably more a matter of practical politics than of abstract justice, and if Government is of opinion that the passage of the Bill would be unduly endangered by omitting this provision, there is no help for it but to acquiesce. I would, however, put in a plea for very careful consideration of this point, and, if by any means salami can be omitted, I would press strongly that this should be done. If the principle is admitted I think three years' rent is moderate and I would not press for any reduction in the amount. I am not satisfied, however, that the alternative of a 20 per cent. increase in the rent should be provided. It is true that if the increase is capitalised at 15 years' purchase it represents three years of the unincreased rent and is thus theoretically the same thing. But in fact the increase will be paid for much more than 15 years and I fear it may prove a heavier burden on the tenant in the long run than payment of salami in instalments and it will have the effect of raising the general level of rents in the neighbourhood to the prejudice of other tenants. The situation might be eased by allowing the salami to be paid in instalments spreading over a longer period, say six or even nine years.

(d) The Settlement Officer has not dealt with the question of whether reference to rates in adjoining utbandi lands should be

APPENDIX IX.

Revenue Department.

APPORTIONMENT ORDER.

A Block.

No. 10029 L.R.—The 20th November 1922.—Under section 114 of the Bengal Tenancy Act 1885 (Act VIII of 1885), the Governor in Council has determined that the police-stations Alamdanga, Mirpur Daulatpur, Gangani, Karimpur, Bhairamara, Kus-tea, Kumarkhali and Khoksa, in the district of Nadia, where the preparation of a record of right has been undertaken under Notification No. 7311 L.R., dated the 6th September 1918, the landlords' and tenants' share of cost for the survey and the preparation of a record-of-rights including the estimated cost of maintenance of boundary marks for a period of 15 years shall be apportioned and recovered as specified below:—

(1) The rate of cost to be recovered will be Re. 1-1 per acre.

(2) Of this, raiyats, including utbandi raiyats in respect of the land in which they have been recorded with occupancy right and persons of the degree of raiyat possessing rent-free holdings and persons holding non-agricultural tenancies, shall pay 6 annas and their landlords of all grades together 11 annas per acre.

(3) Utbandi raiyats in respect of the land in which they have been recorded as without occupancy right shall pay two annas per acre and landlords will pay for such land at the rate of 15 annas per acre.

(4) Landlords shall pay 10 annas per acre for lands in their khas possession.

(5) As between the different grades of landlords, the landlords' share shall be apportioned thus:—

(a) Permanent tenure-holders whose rent or rate of rent is fixed in perpetuity shall pay their own share of cost and that of landlords' superior to them.

(b) Other permanent tenure-holders and temporary tenure-holders whose lease has over fifteen years to run, shall pay three-fourths of landlords' share and their landlords shall pay the remaining one-fourth.

(c) Temporary tenure-holders whose lease has fifteen years to run shall pay fifteen-sixteenths of the share they would pay in accordance with (b) above, and so on, proportionately according to the number of the years of the lease to run.

(d) Temporary tenure-holders who do not hold on a lease or for a fixed term shall pay half of the landlords' share.

Explanation.—The calculation shall be made from the lowest grade of landlords immediately above the raiyat. The period for which the lease of the tenure or under-tenure is to run is to be reckoned in each case from

taken into consideration as provided in section 180 A (8) (c), but my attention has been directed to this in a note submitted by Babu Nepal Chandra Sen, formerly an Assistant Settlement Officer in Nadia, and one who has had more experience of the conditions of the utbandi system than any other. He objects strongly to this as he says the rates in many cases exist only on paper and are never realised and it would be highly prejudicial to the applicant for conversion to take them into account. It seems to me that the words "paid or payable" in the preceding sub-section (b) are all that are required. He indeed objects to the words "or payable" in that sub-section on the same ground, namely, that they are merely paper rents, but I do not see how they could be very well admitted. The other factors which the Revenue Officer is empowered to take into account will provide a sufficient check against adoption of fancy rates. But I certainly think it unnecessary to complicate the case by reference to other paper rates, and if sub-section (c) is not deleted altogether it should provide for a reference only to utbandi rents actually paid in the neighbourhood.

(e) The question of appeals has not been touched on by the Settlement Officer. Here as in the case of salami I fancy political expediency has been the guiding motive in providing for appeals to the Special Judge. If the objections to the course are not insuperable, I should much prefer to confine appeals to the revenue authorities and there is precedent to justify this in the procedure for commutation of produce rents.

(f) The Settlement Officer goes on to make some further recommendations in addition to the Bill on the lines of those framed by the sub-committee as set out in the last paragraphs of section 3 of the Government resolution. His argument is that if conversion does not succeed, it would be as well to make provision for mitigating some at least of the abuses connected with the utbandi system. I agree that the recommendations he makes are unobjectionable and if they were observed by the parties they would do good. But I doubt the practical value of including them in an Act of the legislature. If conversion is successful the problem will be solved except in regard to a comparatively small area where the nature of the soil is such that conversion cannot be applied, and it hardly seems necessary to make special provision for that. If, on the other hand, it is not successful, it will be because the tenants are too weak to assert any rights whatsoever in opposition to the landlords, and in that case the proposed provisions would be ineffective, for they would never be enforced.

12. I have no other comments to make on the specific provisions of the Bill. To sum up, I am of opinion that the only possible solution of the problem lies in the Bill submitted for criticism, subject, if possible, to the amendments I have suggested. If its provisions can be made effective nothing further is required; if they cannot, nothing further will be of any avail. I would, therefore, pin my faith to the Bill and recommend that no action be taken outside of the scope of its provisions.

the close of the agricultural year in which the record is finally published.

(6) Rent-free tenure-holders shall pay the whole of the landlords' share for their lands.

(7) Under-raiyats shall pay at the rate of 4 annas a tenancy or part of a tenancy included in one village.

(8) The following minimum charges shall be adopted:—

(a) The minimum charge for any tenancy or part of a tenancy recorded in one village shall be 4 annas.

(b) (1) The calculations shall be made to the nearest anna.

(2) Fractions of an acre shall count as a whole acre.

Sd. M. C. McALPIN,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

Land Revenue.

APPORTIONMENT ORDER.

B Block.

No. 271 L.R. The 9th January 1922.—Under Section 114 of the Bengal Tenancy Act 1885 (Act VIII of 1885) the Governor in Council has determined that in the following police-stations in the district of Nadia:—

- (1) Tehatta.
- (2) Mirpur.
- (3) Chapra.
- (4) Demurhuda.
- (5) Chuadanga.
- (6) Kissenganj.
- (7) Hanskhali.
- (8) Jibannagar.

where the preparation of a record-of-rights was undertaken under Notification No. 7311 L.R., dated the 6th September 1918, the landlords' and tenants' share of the cost for the survey and the preparation of a record-of-rights including the estimated cost of maintenance of boundary marks for a period of 15 years shall be apportioned and recovered as specified below:—

1. The rate of cost to be recovered will be Re. 1 per acre except in the cost of fields entered in the record as finally published in the khatians of proprietors and tenure-holders. For such lands referred to in clause 5 below as *khas* lands, the rate will be 10 annas.

2. Of the rate of Re. 1 raiyats including *utbandi* raiyats in respect of the land of which they have been recorded with occupancy rights and persons holding non-agricultural tenancies shall pay 6 annas and their landlords of all grades together 10 annas per acre.

3. *Utbandi* raiyats in respect of the land in which they have been recorded as without occupancy rights shall pay 2 annas per acre

and their superior landlords of all grades together 14 annas.

4. Rent-free tenants, whether of the degree of raiyat of landlord, shall pay the whole of the landlords' share for their lands.

5. Subject to clause 6 (a) the 10 annas rate for *khas* lands will be distributed as follows, viz., the person in possession will pay 8 annas and their landlords of all grades 2 annas.

6. As between the different grades of landlords the landlords' share shall be apportioned thus:—

(a) Permanent tenure-holders, whose rent or rate of rent is fixed in perpetuity, shall pay their own share of cost and that of landlords' share superior to them.

(b) Other permanent tenure-holders and temporary tenure-holders whose lease has over 15 years to run, shall pay three-fourths of the landlords' share and their landlords shall pay the remaining one-fourth.

(c) Temporary tenure-holders, whose lease has 15 years to run, shall pay fifteen-sixteenths of the share they would pay in accordance with (b) above and so on, proportionately according to the number of years of the lease to run.

(d) Temporary tenure-holders, who do not hold on a lease or for a fixed term, shall pay half of the landlords' share.

Explanation:—The calculation shall be made from the lowest grade of landlords immediately above the raiyat. The period for which the lease of the tenure or under-tenure is to run, is to be reckoned in each case from the close of the agricultural year in which the record is finally published.

7. Under-raiyats shall pay at the rate of 4 annas a tenancy or part of a tenancy included in one village.

8. The following minimum charges shall be adopted:—

(a) The minimum charge for any tenancy or part of a tenancy recorded in one village shall be 4 annas.

(b) 1. The calculation shall be made to the nearest anna.

2. Fractions of an acre shall count as a whole acre.

Sd. W. S. HOPKINS,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal (offg.).

APPORTIONMENT ORDER.

C Block.

No. 2661 L.R.—The 6th April 1921.—Under section 114 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (Act VIII of 1885), the Governor in Council has determined that in thanas Santipur, Rana-ghat and Chakdah in the district of Nadia, in police-station Saktipur of District Murshidabad, in police-stations Ketugram, Katwa, Purbasthali and Kalna in the district of Burdwan, in police-stations Balagarh and Hooghly in the district of Hooghly, in police-station Nuihati in the district of the 24-Parganas, where the preparation of a record-of-rights

has been undertaken under notification No. 7311 L.R., dated the 6th September 1918, the landlords' and tenants' share of cost for the survey and the preparation of a record-of-rights including the estimated cost of maintenance of boundary marks for a period of 15 years shall be apportioned and recovered as specified below:—

(1) The rate of cost to be recovered will be Re. 1 per acre.

(2) Of this, raiyats, including *utbandi* raiyats in respect of the land in which they have been recorded with occupancy right, and persons of the degree of raiyats possessing rent-free holdings and persons holding non-agricultural tenancies, shall pay 6 annas and their landlords of all grades together, 10 annas per acre.

(3) *Utbandi* raiyats in respect of the land in which they have been recorded as without occupancy rights shall pay 2 annas per acre.

(4) Landlords shall pay 14 annas per acre for lands in their *khas* possession and for *utbandi* lands in which no occupancy rights have been recorded.

(5) As between the different grades of landlord, the landlords' share shall be apportioned thus:—

(a) Permanent tenure-holders whose rent or rate of rent is fixed in perpetuity shall pay their own share of cost and that of landlords superior to them.

(b) Other permanent tenure-holders and temporary tenure-holders whose lease has over 15 years to run shall pay three-fourths of the landlords' share and their landlords shall pay the remaining one-fourth.

(c) Temporary tenure-holders whose lease has 15 years to run shall pay fifteen-sixteenths of the share they would pay in accordance with (b) above and, so on, proportionately according to the number of years of the lease to run.

(d) Temporary tenure-holders who do not hold on a lease or for a fixed term shall pay half of the landlords' share.

Explanation.—The calculation shall be made from the lowest grade of landlords immediately above the raiyats. The period for which the lease of the tenure or under-tenure is to run, is to be reckoned in each case from the close of the agricultural year in which the record is finally published.

(6) Rent-free tenure-holders shall pay the whole of the landlords' share of their lands.

(7) Under-raiyats shall pay at the rate of 4 annas a tenancy or part of a tenancy included in one village.

(8) The following minimum charges shall be adopted:—

(a) The minimum charge for any tenancy or part of a tenancy recorded in one village shall be 4 annas.

(b) (1) The calculations shall be made to the nearest anna.

(2) Fractions of an acre shall count as a whole acre.

W. S. HOPKINS,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal
(Offg.).

APPENDIX X.

Temporary settled private estates in which revenue was settled by the District Settlement Staff.

District—Hooghly.

Tauzi No.	Thana.	Revenue.		Term of settlement.
		Former.	Present.	
		Rs. A.	Rs. A.	
4950	Hooghly	2 0	2 0	31st March 1937.
2025	Balaghar .. ..	....	....
2027	Ditto .. ..	....	....
2035	Ditto .. ..	....	....
2091	Ditto .. ..	....	....
2092	Ditto .. ..	....	....
3479	Ditto .. ..	....	....
3515	Ditto .. ..	....	....
4797	Ditto .. ..	....	....
4798	Ditto .. ..	....	....
4978	Ditto .. ..	....	....

District—Burdwan.

Tausi No.	Thana.	Revenue.		Term of settlement.
		Former.	Present.	
		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A.	
6539	Purbasthali ..	24 0 0	29 0	31st March 1937.
6773	Ditto ..	.....	590 0	Ditto.
6776	Ditto ..	.....	147 0	Ditto.
4409	Ketugram ..	1,880 13 1	1,759 8	28th February 1937.
6771	Ditto ..	.....	330 0	1st April 1922 to 31st March 1932.
5969	Katwa ..	414 0 0	1,614 0	31st March 1932.
6306	Ditto ..	1,037 0 0	2,009 0	31st March 1937.
6307	Ditto ..	490 0 0	279 0	Ditto.
6529	Ditto ..	6 0 0	6 0	Ditto.
6547	Ditto ..	8 0 0	16 0	Ditto.

District—Nadia.

		Rs. A.	Rs. A.	
819	Kaliganj ..	93 0	123 0	31st March 1937.
824	Ditto ..	153 0	207 0	Ditto.
837	Ditto ..	691 0	947 0	Ditto.
850	Ditto ..	186 0	414 0	Ditto.
852	Ditto ..	207 0	193 0	1st April 1923 to 31st March 1928.
860	Ditto ..	177 0	197 0	31st March 1937.
862	Ditto ..	105 0	107 0	1st April 1922 to 31st March 1937.
867	Ditto ..	549 0	541 0	Ditto.
881	Ditto ..	123 0	152 0	31st March 1934.
916	Ditto ..	16 0	17 4	Ditto.
2046	Ditto ..	131 0	222 0	31st March 1939.
2047	Ditto ..	21 0	39 0	Ditto.
2049	Ditto ..	6 0	10 0	Ditto.
2458	Ditto ..	168 0	260 0	Ditto.
2459	Ditto ..	44 0	42 0	Ditto.
2460	Ditto ..	186 0	330 0	1st April 1922 to 31st March 1932.
3591	Ditto ..	116 0	116 0	1st April 1923 to 31st March 1938.
3592	Ditto ..	22 0	121 0	1st April 1922 to 31st March 1937.
3593	Ditto ..	83 0	499 0	1st April 1922 to 31st March 1932.
3596	Ditto ..	.....	52 0	Ditto.
3642	Ditto ..	.....	330 0	Ditto.
6771	Ditto ..	1,407 0	5,147 0	1st April 1923 to 31st March 1938.
870	Nakasipara ..	88 0	226 11	Held Khas.
811	Nabadwip ..	667 0	1,875 0	31st March 1937.
812	Ditto ..	177 0	393 0	Ditto.
821	Ditto ..	737 0	1,547 0	Ditto.
822	Ditto ..	39 0	245 0	31st March 1924.
910	Ditto ..	1,524 0	1,829 0	1st April 1923 to 31st March 1938.
1367	Ditto ..	11 0	13 0	31st March 1937.
2894	Ditto ..	153 0	257 0	Ditto.
3106	Ditto ..	128 0	96 0	1st April 1922 to 31st March 1927.
3528	Ditto ..	368 0	482 0	Ditto.
3562	Ditto ..	71 0	90 0	31st March 1937.
3560	Ditto ..	71 0	90 0	Ditto.
917	Krishnagar ..	142 0	181 0	Ditto.
918	Ditto ..	142 0	181 0	Ditto.
919	Ditto ..	142 0	181 0	Ditto.
920	Ditto ..	652 0	756 0	Ditto.
921	Ditto ..	1,140 0	1,420 0	Ditto.
1551	Ditto ..	109 0	150 0	1st April 1922 to 31st March 1937.
818	Santipur ..	.....	39 0	Ditto.
3643	Ditto ..	1,751 0	2,581 0	1st April 1923 to 31st March 1938.
847	Ditto ..	709 0	584 0	Ditto.
962	Ditto ..	98 0	44 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1929.
2549	Ditto ..	131 0	115 4	Managed khas.
2548	Ditto ..	5 0	7 4	Ditto.
2604	Ditto ..	1,543 0	3,635 0	31st March 1938.
2645	Ditto ..	106 0	105 0	31st March 1937.
3107	Ditto ..	48 0	112 0	31st March 1938.
3575	Ditto ..	186 0	302 0	Ditto.
3576	Ditto ..	391 0	608 0	31st March 1937.
3598	Ditto ..	27 0	95 15	Ditto.
6231	Ditto ..	55 0	70 0	Ditto.
838	Ranaghat ..	5 0	7 0	Ditto.
839	Ditto ..	199 0	201 0	Ditto.
843	Ditto ..	8 0	15 0	31st March 1931.
3152	Ditto ..	.....	3,664 0	31st March 1937.
3657	Ditto ..	187 0	429 0	Ditto.
3461	Chakdah ..	3 0	5 0	Ditto.
926	Haringhata ..	236 0	316 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1938.
1664	Tehatta ..	49 0	99 0	Ditto.
890	Ditto ..	.....	.....	.....

Tausi No.	Thana.	Revenue.		Term of settlement.
		Former.	Present.	
		Rs. A.	Rs. A.	
891	Tehatta	1,006 0	2,160 0	1st April 1923 to 31st March 1938.
2019	Ditto	180 0	213 0	Ditto.
2179	Ditto	841 0	914 0	Ditto.
2018	Ditto	205 0	326 0	Ditto.
3124	Ditto	127 0	223 0	Ditto.
3526	Ditto	321 0	578 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
988	Ditto	214 0	225 0	Ditto.
1780	Ditto	317 0	375 0	Ditto.
880	Ditto	700 0	1,043 0	1st April 1923 to 31st March 1938.
2573	Ditto	301 0	449 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
3132	Ditto	276 0	302 0	1st April 1923 to 31st March 1938.
806	Chuadanga	336 0	348 0	Ditto.
2457	Jibannagar	73 0	124 0	Ditto.
884	Damurhuda	212 0	203 0	1st April 1923 to 31st March 1933.
2547	Krishnaganj	267 0	661 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
863	Ditto	324 0	482 0	Ditto.
859	Ditto	239 0	377 0	Ditto.
906	Ditto	22 0	28 0	1st April 1923 to 31st March 1933.
907	Ditto	22 0	28 0	Ditto.
908	Ditto	39 0	48 0	Ditto.
823	Gangni .. ..	....	0 2	1st April 1923 to 31st March 1928.
828	Ditto	1,585 0	2,019 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
882	Ditto	213 0	354 0	Ditto.
1406	Ditto	1,387 0	1,790 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
2219	Ditto	872 0	1,077 0	Ditto.
2450	Ditto	715 0	1,019 0	Ditto.
3531	Ditto	429 0	719 0	1st April 1923 to 31st March 1938.
3560	Ditto	137 0	261 0	Ditto.
3279	Kumarkhali	119 0	149 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1934.
810	Alamdanga	979 0	1,212 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
808	Ditto	141 0	209 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1934.
845	Ditto	112 0	126 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
855	Ditto	113 0	153 0	Ditto.
875	Ditto	176 0	211 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1934.
876	Ditto	279 0	333 0	Ditto.
878	Ditto	336 0	501 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
1394	Ditto	443 0	532 0	Ditto.
1395	Ditto	185 12	150 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1934.
1396	Ditto .. ..	....	....	Ditto.
1399	Ditto	36 0	49 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
2162	Ditto	384 0	572 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1934.
3500	Ditto	3 10	4 0	Ditto.
3505	Ditto	109 0	219 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
3509	Ditto	5 0	5 0	Ditto.
809	Karimpur	851 0	1,448 0	Ditto.
834	Ditto	441 0	597 0	1st April 1925 to 31st March 1940.
2767	Ditto	2,677 0	3,400 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
2768	Ditto	4 0	5 0	1st April 1923 to 31st March 1938.
3570	Ditto	12 14 3	17 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1934.
3583	Ditto	569 0	950 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
830	Daulatpur	45 0	261 0	Ditto.
836	Ditto	1,117 0	2,105 0	1st April 1925 to 31st March 1940.
841	Ditto	385 0	697 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
894	Ditto	129 0	197 0	1st April 1923 to 31st March 1938.
3561	Ditto	60 0	59 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1934.
3277	Kushtia	44 0	74 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
3278	Ditto	292 0	364 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1934.
3422	Ditto	156 0	185 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
853	Mirpur	1,287 0	1,370 0	Ditto.
854	Ditto	1,162 0	1,546 0	Ditto.
866	Ditto	976 0	1,424 0	Ditto.
871	Ditto	330 0	590 0	Ditto.
892	Ditto	761 0	834 0	Ditto.
2552	Ditto	125 0	142 0	Ditto.
3156	Ditto	49 0	66 0	Ditto.
3579	Ditto	95 0	95 0	Ditto.
3580	Ditto	95 0	95 0	Ditto.

APPENDIX XI.

Government estates in which revenue was settled by the District Settlement Staff.

District—Hooghly.

Tauzi No.	Thana.	Revenue.		Term of settlement.
		Former.	Present.	
		Rs. A.	Rs. A.	
4033	Hooghly	164 4	823 3	31st March 1937.
4053	Ditto	825 0	1,074 3	Ditto.
4653	Balagar	17 0	11 0	1st April 1922 to 31st March 1937.

District—Burdwan.

		Rs. A.	Rs. A.	
169	Purbaathali	205 5	29 0	From 1st April 1923 to 31st March 1938.
2398	Ditto	914 8	940 1	Ditto.
5289	Ditto	18 0	18 8	31st March 1937.
6534	Ditto	9 14½	12 10	Ditto.
6607	Ditto	341 0	364 0	15 years from 1st April 1923.
2397	Kalna	57 0	68 4	

District—Nadia.

		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
306	Kaliganj	472 0 0	1,388 0 0	31st March 1938.
2048	Ditto	10 0 0	21 0 0	31st March 1937.
2543	Ditto	1,036 0 0	1,809 13 0	15 years from 1922.
2639	Ditto	511 0 0	1,048 0 0	31st March 1937.
2690	Krishnagar	1 0 0	1 12 0	Ditto.
903	Santipur	731 0 0	1,736 15 0	1st April 1922 to 31st March 1937.
2015	Ditto	315 0 0	1,182 0 0	Ditto.
2700	Ditto	79 0 0	143 0 0	Ditto.
3584	Ditto	166 0 0	631 0 0	1st April 1922 to 31st March 1932.
3585	Ditto	18 0 0	35 0 0	Ditto.
669	Ranaghat	3 0 0	3 2 0	Untl further orders.
673	Ditto	3 0 0	4 8 0	....
679	Ditto	2 0 0	2 4 0	....
1679	Ditto	282 0 0	364 2 0	1st April 1922 to 31st March 1937.
1861	Ditto	6 14 3	8 12 0	Amalgamated with Tauzi No. 1679.
1925	Ditto .. ..	....	5 12 0	Ditto.
2126	Ditto .. ..	....	3 6 0	Ditto.
2606	Ditto .. ..	....	52 0 0	Ditto.
3061	Ditto .. ..	....	2 3 0	Ditto.
3067	Ditto	2 0 0	4 0 0	Ditto.
2612	Ditto	27 0 0	38 0 0	31st March 1932.
3698	Chakdah .. ..	....	22 0 0	1st April 1923 to 31st March 1926.
1387	Ditto	15 8 3	19 7 0	Amalgamated with Tauzi No. 1679.
1964	Ditto	45 2 0	61 6 0	Ditto.
2844	Ditto	12 0 0	13 0 0	Ditto.
3495	Ditto	26 10 10	30 7 0	Ditto.
3595	Ditto	45 0 0	123 3 0	1st April 1923 to 31st March 1938.
3623	Ditto .. ..	....	4,213 0 0	1st April 1922 to 31st March 1937.
3624	Ditto	16 0 0	16 13 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
2711	Haringhata	41 0 0	12 0 0	31st March 1932.
842	Jibannagar	409 5 8	641 0 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1937.
2176	Gangni	2,109 13 0	3,964 13 0	1st April 1925 to 31st March 1940.
2982	Ditto	2,798 0 0	4,178 5 0	Ditto.
3454	Kumarkhali .. ..	....	323 11 4	Ditto.
3455	Ditto .. ..	....	322 6 9	Ditto.
3457	Ditto	84 0 0	180 15 0	Ditto.
3507	Alamdanga	9 0 0	22 0 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
3508	Ditto	186 0 0	394 0 0	Ditto.
3599	Ditto	5 0 0	17 0 0	Ditto.
3644	Ditto .. ..	....	133 0 0	Ditto.
2813	Karimpur	842 0 0	1,372 0 0	1st April 1925 to 31st March 1940.
3494	Kushtia	117 0 0	126 0 0	1st April 1924 to 31st March 1939.
3581	Mirpur	20 0 0	28 0 0	Ditto.

APPENDIX XII.

List of resumption proceedings of alluvial accretions.

River Bhagirathi.

District—Nadia.

Thana.	Tauzi No.	Confirmed or released.	Area.	Assets.			Revenue.		
				Ra.	A.	P.	Ra.	A.	P.
Saktipur .. (Murshidabad).	3051	Confirmed ..	113·62	341	6	0	273	0	0
Nabadwip ..	3074	Do. ..	027·64	1,764	4	0	1,235	0	0
Ketugram .. (Burdwan).	6777	Do. ..	123·13	541	7	0	435	0	0
	6778	Do. ..	6·81	16	8	0	12	0	0
	6779	Do. ..	22·18	89	13	0	72	0	0
Krishnagar .. (Nadia).	3670	Do. ..	187·77	367	9	0	358	7	4
	3671	Released ..	7·30	20	12	0	....	
	3672	Confirmed ..	396·66	1,111	1	0	667	0	0
	3673	Do. ..	143·08	412	9	0	350	11	0
Nakasipara .. (Nadia).	3666	Do. ..	77·13	58	11	0	41	0	0
	3667	Do. ..	162·68	466	1	0	326	0	0
	3668	Do. ..	3·58	23	8	0	16	0	0
	3669	Do. ..	5·66	4	0	0	2	0	0
Santipore .. (Nadia).	3690	Do. ..	96·28	707	4	0	566	0	0
	3691	Do. ..	208·99	874	0	0	612	0	0
	3692	Do. ..	101·90	317	0	0	222	0	0
	3693	Do. ..	8·23	38	8	0	29	7	0
	3694	Do. ..	41·78	212	11	0	170	0	0
	3695	Do. ..	10·14	22	5	0	16	0	0
	3696	Do. ..	23·63	53	13	0	38	0	0
Kalna .. (Burdwan).	6789	Do. ..	75·76	223	4	0	146	0	0
	6790	Do. ..	136·85	667	5	0	134	0	0
Balagarh .. (Hooghly).	5052	Do. ..	12·20	9	0	0	6	0	0
	5053	Do. ..	82·99	376	11	0	226	0	0
	5054	Do. ..	92·81	306	0	0	184	0	0
	5055	Do. ..	61·79	1,301	7	0	911	0	0
Kaligunj ..	3645	Do. ..	7·26	22	0	0	18	0	0
	3658	Do. ..	79·16	150	14	0	106	0	0
	3659	Do. ..	70·61	44	11	0	31	0	0
	3660	Do. ..	34·56	19	4	0	13	0	0
	3661	Do. ..	19·14	3	10	0	3	0	0
	3663	Do. ..	54·75	85	12	0	50	0	0
	3664	Do. ..	27·00	81	11	5	57	0	0
	3665	Do. ..	10·66	32	6	0	26	0	0
	3662	Do. ..	83·03	15	10	0	13	0	0
Purbasthali .. (Burdwan).	6784	Do. ..	147·55	501	13	0	351	0	0
	6785	Do. ..	70·03	316	13	0	222	0	0
	6786	Do. ..	38·78	121	13	0	73	0	0
	6787	Do. ..	10·34	26	14	0	22	14	0
	6788	Do. ..	7·58	23	0	0	16	0	0
Chakdaha .. (Nadia).	3678	Do. ..	53·67	870	4	0	522	0	0
	3679	Do. ..	22·77	539	1	0	377	0	0
	3680	Do. ..	6·74	40	13	0	24	0	0
	3681	Do. ..	13·33	29	0	0	20	0	0
	3682	Do. ..	157·24	629	7	0	441	0	0
	3741	Released ..	....	....			....
	3683	Confirmed ..	19·33	81	12	0	57	0	0
	3684	Released ..	14·73	....			....
	3685	Do. ..	2·36	....			....
	3686	Do. ..	2·29	....			....
	3687	Do. ..	29·55	....			....
Ranaghat .. (Nadia).	3688	Confirmed ..	309·22	798	4	0	678	8	3
	3689	Do. ..	137·23	584	11	0	409	0	0
Magra .. (Hooghly).	5047	Do. ..	31·83	1,212	15	0	728	0	0

River Jalangi.

Thana.	Tauzi No.	Confirmed or released.	Area.	Assets.			Revenue.		
				Ra.	A.	P.	Ra.	A.	P.
Nakasipara .. (Nadia).	3715	Confirmed	217.48	848	5	0	509	0	0
	3716	Do.	48.42	366	10	0	293	0	0
	3717	Do.	67.37	510	6	0	357	0	0
	3718	Do.	21.47	53	13	0	43	0	0
Chapra .. (Nadia).	3722	Do.	29.29	116	12	0	82	0	0
	3719	Do.	114.71	338	8	0	203	0	0
	3720	Do.	81.38	980	6	0	546	0	0
	3740	Do.	101.03	678	7	0	407	0	0
	3721	Do.	52.63	398	11	0	239	0	0
	3723	Do.	37.09	188	5	0	132	0	0
	3725	Do.	154.00	9	5	0	6	0	0
Krishnagar ..	3707	Do.	157.56	901	4	0	541	0	0
	3708	Do.	124.43	1,016	3	0	610	0	0
	3709	Do.	170.07	1,803	14	0	1,263	0	0
	3710	Do.	.....	0	7	0	0	5	0
	3711	Do.	138.16	816	1	0	490	0	0
	3712	Do.	60.60	428	6	0	257	0	0
	3713	Do.	165.64	1,207	0	0	725	0	0
Tehatta ..	3714	Do.	2.96	2	4	0	1	0	0
	3726	Do.	69.06	504	0	0	353	0	0
	3727	Do.	55.84	188	10	0	113	0	0
	3728	Do.	111.46	423	0	0	296	0	0
	3729	Do.	123.01	689	7	0	483	0	0
	3730	Do.	84.95	506	6	0	355	0	0
	3731	Do.	.80	1	0	0	0	11	0
	3732	Do.	60.33	228	8	0	161	0	0
	3733	Do.	34.84	199	9	0	160	0	0
	3734	Do.	48.23	279	11	0	196	0	0
	3735	Do.	13.18	50	11	0	30	0	0
	3736	Do.	7.70	59	10	0	42	0	0
	3737	Do.	49.33	299	0	0	209	0	0
	3738	Do.	105.15	619	5	0	434	0	0
	3739	Do.	.40	2	7	0	1	14	7
Nabadwip ..	3702	Do.	10.02	28	8	0	17	0	0
	3703	Released	1.57	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	3704	Confirmed	4.98	20	3	0	12	0	0
	3705	Do.	.43	0	10	0	0	7	0
	3706	Do.	.56	0	13	0	0	9	0

River Kumar.

				Ra. A. P.			Ra. A. P.		
				Ra.	A.	P.	Ra.	A.	P.
Alamdanga ..	3773	Confirmed	194.13	701	5	0	491	0	0
	3774	Do.	60.45	384	13	0	231	0	0
Mirpur ..	3775	Do.	58.78	242	0	0	Khas.		
Kushtia ..	3776	Do.	102.17	319	9	0	224	0	0
	3777	Do.	13.10	40	12	0	29	0	0
	3778	Do.	7.39	24	7	0	17	0	0
	3779	Do.	1.94	7	8	0	5	0	0
	3780	Do.	7.38	27	15	0	20	0	0
	3781	Do.	18.81	70	11	0	55	0	0
	3782	Do.	289.55	936	6	0	655	0	0
	3783	Do.	155.99	503	6	0	352	0	0
	3784	Do.	8.11	20	7	0	14	0	0
	3785	Do.	23.63	43	13	0	33	7	10
Harinakundu (Jessore).	3787	Do.	169.80	571	0	0	400	0	0
	5647	Do.	265.55	632	4	0	443	0	0
	5648	Do.	52.91	143	4	0	100	0	0
	5649	Do.	40.66	117	14	0	83	0	0
	5650	Do.	36.79	78	10	0	Khas.		
	5651	Do.	94.65	308	8	0	216	0	0
	5048	Do.	31.31	189	14	0	133	0	0
	5049	Do.	47.13	286	4	0	172	0	0
	5051	Do.	72.34	1,364	10	0	955	0	0
	5050	Do.	4.64	26	0	0	20	0	0

Thana.	Tauzi No.	Confirmed or released.	Area.	Assets.	Revenue.
				Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Katwa .. (Burdwan).	6781	Do. ..	1.64	7 7 0	5 0 0
	6782	Do. ..	45.77	201 9 0	161 0 0
	6783	Do. ..	24.62	79 2 0	63 0 0
	6798	Do. ..	12.84	30 14 6	22 0 0
	6799	Do. ..	30.99	140 10 0	111 0 0
	6780	Do. ..	96.53	10 0 0	8 0 0

River Corai.

				Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Kumarkhali ..	3788	Confirmed ..	10.38	50 5 0	42 12 0
	3789	Do. ..	12.07	128 14 0	90 0 0
	3790	Do. ..	27.57	174 12 0	122 0 0
	3791	Do. ..	6.58	36 3 0	25 0 0
	3792	Do. ..	74.48	232 0 0	162 0 0
	3793	Do. ..	4.13	9 7 0	7 0 0
	3815	Do. ..	3.49	5 14 0	4 11 4
	3794	Do. ..	69.80	155 2 0	109 0 0
	3795	Do. ..	10.78	21 5 0	15 0 0
	3796	Do. ..	7.05	7 10 0	5 0 0
	3797	Do. ..	.32	0 12 0	0 8 0
	3798	Do. ..	25.02	72 3 0	43 0 0
	3799	Do. ..	13.34	36 7 0	26 0 0
	3800	Do. ..	18.17	47 14 0	34 0 0
	3801	Do. ..	160.68	441 9 0	265 0 0
	3802	Do. ..	42.19	109 9 0	77 0 0
	3803	Do. ..	49.42	285 4 0	228 3 3
	3804	Do. ..	78.08	376 6 0	226 0 0
	3805	Do. ..	78.24	276 10 0	194 0 0
	3806	Do. ..	3.77	22 3 0	13 0 0
	3807	Do. ..	15.60	59 1 0	41 0 0
	3808	Do. ..	126.50	446 2 0	312 0 0
	3809	Do. ..	21.83	81 0 0	57 0 0
	3810	Do. ..	42.16	95 15 0	58 0 0
	3811	Do. ..	38.34	69 6 0	49 0 0
	3812	Do. ..	10.75	36 14 0	26 0 0
	3813	Do. ..	2.97	10 10 0	10 2 5
	3814	Do. ..	31.56	105 2 0	74 0 0

APPENDIX XIII.*Sub-Deputy Collectors—***List of Officers employed.***Settlement Officers—*

1. Mr. T. M. Pringle, I.C.S.
2. Mr. H. C. V. Philpot, I.C.S.
3. Mr. A. H. Kemm, I.C.S.
4. Rai Bahadur Bijay Bihari Mukharji.

Assistant Settlement Officers—

1. Mr. T. M. Steven I.C.S. (since dead)
2. Mr. A. H. Kemm, I.C.S.

Deputy Collectors—

1. Khan Sahib A. K. Kabiruddin Ahmed.
2. Babu Nepal Chandra Sen.
3. Babu Surendra Nath Roy.
4. Babu Kalipada Maitra.
5. Maulvi Ali Reza.
6. Babu Pran Kumar Mukherji.
7. Babu Jogesh Chandra Mitra.
8. Babu Girish Chandra Das.
9. Babu Hira Lal Sen.
10. Maulvi Ali Azam.

Munsiffs—

1. Babu Surendra Nath Mitra.
2. Babu Nikunja Bihari Mukherji.
3. Babu Suresh Chandra Sen (No. II).
4. Babu Priya Nath Basu.
5. Babu Dharendra Nath Basu.
6. Babu Tridib Chandra Banerji.

1. Babu Pramatha Nath Datta (since dead).
2. Babu Prabhat Chandra Sen.
3. Babu Lal Mohan Basu.
4. Babu Apurba Ranjan Barua.
5. Maulvi Jamiluddin Ahmed.
6. Maulvi Azizur Rahaman (No. I).
7. Babu Jatindra Mohan Chatterji.
8. Babu Mohini Mohan Chakerbarti.
9. Babu Suresh Chandra Ghosh.
10. Maulvi Shaikh Abdulla (No. II) (now in the Department of Sericulture).
11. Maulvi Nazimuddin Ahmed (since dead).
12. Babu Pramada Kumar Basu.
13. Maulvi Kazi Fazlul Karim.
14. Babu Makhan Lal Banerji.
15. Maulvi Muhammad Fariduddin.
16. Babu Monoranjan Das Gupta.
17. Babu Shyamapada Bhattacharji.
18. Babu Upendra Nath Ganguli.
19. Babu Ashutosh Banerji.
20. Maulvi A. K. Muhammad Saiyid.
21. Babu Umesh Chandra Banerji.
22. Babu Kunja Mohan De.
23. Babu Purnendra Nath Guha.
24. Babu Prafulla Chandra Banerji.
25. Maulvi Muzaffarali.
26. Babu Surendra Nath Mukherji.
27. Maulvi Shaikh Abdullah (No. I).

Technical Advisers—

1. Mr. I. Newton, Extra Assistant Superintendent of Survey.
2. Babu Lal Mohan Bose, Sub-Deputy Collector and Assistant Settlement Officer.
3. Babu Sailesh Chandra Ghosh, Revenue Officer and Assistant Settlement Officer.

Revenue Officers—

1. Babu Sidheswar Halder.
2. Babu Jogesh Chandra Guha.
3. Babu Anukul Chandra Ganguli.
4. Maulvi Matiar Rahaman Khan.
5. Maulvi Golam Akbar.
6. Babu Priya Nath Ray Chaudhuri
(since dead).
7. Babu Abinash Chandra Chakerbarti.
8. Babu Prakash Chandra Das Gupta.
9. Babu Upendra Krishna Mazumdar.
10. Babu Lalit Kumar Basu.
11. Babu Barada Chanran Chakerbarti.
12. Babu Kumudini Nath Ray.
13. Babu Joyotish Chandra Chaudhuri.
14. Maulvi Abdus Samad.
15. Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Wahed.
16. Maulvi Muhammad Karim Baksh.
17. Maulvi Taheruddin Ahmad.

Khasra or employ-

Name of thana.	Cropped area.							Current fallow.
	Bhadol.	Aghani.	Rabi.	Other cropped area, e.g., mango, tea, pan, plantain, guavas, etc.	Total	Dotall.	Net cropped area.	
	3	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
A BLOCK.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
Krishnagar	33,885 20	13,748 46	25,399 52	6,230 57	79,263 75	20,877 02	58,386 13	9,982 70
Ranaghat	35,535 97	30,605 39	21,430 60	6,626 65	94,198 61	19,141 12	75,057 49	5,414 22
Santipur	14,340 60	5,746 73	8,740 50	3,981 36	32,809 19	7,162 77	25,646 42	4,015 97
Lalganj	17,524 60	16,865 77	15,196 11	2,184 41	61,470 89	8,293 15	43,177 74	11,866 99
Chakdha	23,586 88	25,928 34	10,031 66	5,801 84	65,348 62	8,036 85	56,411 77	4,488 59
Nakaashipara	24,581 54	17,103 11	21,480 24	3,024 20	66,189 09	17,123 84	49,065 25	15,237 27
Nabadwip	11,660 99	506 82	10,186 95	1,567 66	23,922 42	9,046 85	14,875 57	2,337 02
Haringhata	9,965 41	14,877 92	5,047 92	2,019 83	31,931 08	3,961 27	27,969 81	2,390 42
Total	171,101 19	125,082 44	117,513 50	31,436 52	445,133 65	94,543 47	350,590 18	55,228 18
B BLOCK.								
Tohatta	29,689 99	33,743 22	43,248 11	3,091 54	109,672 86	30,087 27	79,585 59	13,801 29
Meherpur	27,322 10	18,114 11	31,390 11	3,690 38	80,516 70	23,041 08	57,475 62	8,630 06
Chudanga	28,398 45	12,444 33	24,671 74	3,341 11	68,855 63	20,147 06	48,707 67	5,247 00
Damurhuda	33,542 12	13,375 05	28,916 75	3,367 07	79,200 99	24,940 41	54,251 58	4,497 07
Jibannagar	19,673 69	10,864 04	16,768 28	3,279 37	50,575 38	14,211 97	36,363 41	3,306 10
Hanakhali	19,396 67	26,599 31	16,094 31	1,968 20	64,058 49	14,475 37	50,483 12	2,808 48
Chapra	29,129 28	22,654 05	27,417 76	1,473 54	70,680 63	22,361 95	57,318 68	9,122 85
Krishnaganj	13,213 26	8,027 94	10,938 65	2,747 86	34,927 71	9,240 83	25,686 88	2,442 39
Total	199,265 56	145,822 05	200,335 71	22,965 07	568,388 39	159,415 84	408,972 55	50,155 33
C BLOCK.								
Alamdanga	47,742 48	12,304 72	29,989 29	8,418 39	93,354 88	26,801 44	66,553 44	3,005 75
Gangri	36,873 69	19,501 13	31,703 67	1,863 66	89,942 15	27,360 62	62,581 63	3,609 14
Mirpur	35,007 37	14,111 27	23,642 29	2,778 84	75,539 77	21,741 04	53,798 43	2,415 22
Daulatpur	26,062 10	6,073 91	23,551 78	1,690 16	57,377 95	21,230 56	36,147 39	2,305 09
Kandapur	35,218 02	13,724 38	41,571 90	4,127 89	94,042 19	29,642 16	65,000 03	5,711 13
Kusuria	37,004 06	9,456 19	27,745 70	2,119 90	76,319 85	26,398 44	49,921 41	4,494 81
Kumarbhal and Khoksa	23,045 79	25,447 13	12,625 83	3,332 40	64,451 15	12,179 12	52,272 03	744 30
Bheramara	237 15	4 94	212 69	158 24	613 02	167 35	445 67	32 41
Total	241,190 66	100,623 67	190,943 15	19,483 48	552,240 96	165,521 23	386,719 73	19,317 85
Done by Nadia Settlement	97,710 21	6,849 48	80,528 45	11,114 74	196,202 88	63,228 98	132,973 90	4,346 53
GRAND TOTAL	338,900 87	107,473 15	271,471 60	30,598 22	738,413 84	228,750 21	519,663 63	23,664 38
Block A	171,101 19	125,082 44	117,513 50	31,436 52	445,133 65	94,543 47	350,590 18	55,228 18
Block B	199,265 56	145,822 05	200,335 71	22,965 07	568,388 39	159,415 84	408,972 55	50,155 33
Block C	241,190 66	100,623 67	190,943 15	19,483 48	552,240 96	165,521 23	386,719 73	19,317 85
GRAND TOTAL done by Nadia Settlement	611,557 41	371,525 16	508,792 36	73,884 97	1,565,763 00	419,480 54	1,146,282 46	124,701 36
GRAND TOTAL done by Rajshahi Settlement	97,710 21	6,849 48	80,528 45	11,114 74	196,202 88	63,228 98	132,973 90	4,346 53
GRAND TOTAL of district done by Nadia and Rajshahi Settlements	709,267 62	378,377 64	589,320 81	84,999 81	1,761,965 88	482,709 52	1,279,256 36	129,047 89

ment of the land.

Culturable area other than current fallow.					Area not available for cultivation.				Total un- cultivated, columns 9, 14 and 18.	Total area columns 8 and 20.
Old fallow.	Groves not fruit-bear- ing and bamboos.	Culturable jungle.	Other kinds.	Total.	House- sites.	Water.	Other kinds.	Total.		
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
5,513 15	1,115 72	418 99	2,048 91	9,096 77	2,630 70	4,587 81	3,871 06	11,089 57	30,169 04	88,555 17
7,805 48	1,771 91	386 60	3,148 59	13,112 58	2,894 90	4,215 54	2,408 43	10,518 87	29,045 07	104,103 16
7,270 28	682 97	220 07	1,252 36	9,425 63	1,156 75	2,358 18	2,304 01	5,818 94	19,260 54	44,906 96
6,667 95	995 81	286 21	2,534 72	10,484 69	1,404 70	2,984 29	3,490 77	7,939 76	29,791 44	72,969 18
5,746 80	1,511 26	759 22	1,564 29	9,883 57	2,403 92	4,892 24	2,572 88	9,869 04	24,236 20	80,647 67
11,827 97	1,192 63	497 56	2,111 86	15,540 02	1,672 38	3,977 86	3,901 75	9,551 99	40,329 28	89,394 53
2,517 77	259 98	5 72	1,019 28	3,602 75	1,125 22	2,185 88	1,608 58	4,919 68	10,859 43	25,735 02
3,936 24	635 50	183 68	589 54	5,334 96	1,277 70	3,780 76	942 18	6,000 64	13,726 02	41,695 83
51,087 59	8,865 78	2,758 05	14,269 55	76,480 97	14,626 27	28,982 56	22,099 66	65,708 49	197,417 64	548,007 82
8,974 59	1,403 14	140 51	4,078 51	14,602 75	2,515 65	5,613 33	3,734 08	11,863 66	40,267 70	118,953 29
8,776 72	1,076 24	274 93	1,712 62	11,842 51	1,877 95	3,346 64	2,163 92	7,388 51	27,861 08	85,336 70
8,344 22	1,746 29	159 99	1,364 25	11,014 75	1,571 75	3,249 16	1,667 89	6,488 80	22,750 55	71,458 22
6,661 23	1,131 00	136 71	1,402 91	9,331 25	1,955 76	3,645 04	1,555 74	7,156 54	20,984 86	75,236 44
3,839 90	806 06	108 05	1,226 57	5,980 58	1,146 54	1,606 12	847 70	3,600 36	12,887 13	49,250 54
4,117 33	902 40	369 80	2,221 45	7,610 98	1,625 65	3,279 45	1,192 43	6,097 53	18,516 99	67,000 11
5,099 29	943 81	203 51	2,343 19	8,589 30	1,784 08	3,330 52	2,003 35	7,117 90	25,130 05	82,448 73
2,368 14	693 70	186 80	1,010 87	4,254 51	1,146 48	1,652 87	1,324 77	4,124 12	10,821 02	36,507 90
48,176 42	8,104 14	1,585 70	15,360 37	73,226 63	13,623 81	25,723 13	14,490 48	53,837 42	177,219 38	586,191 93
5,889 84	1,554 64	23 63	1,707 92	9,176 03	2,530 92	2,414 96	1,859 90	6,805 78	18,987 56	85,541 00
7,775 77	1,041 74	217 39	2,757 02	11,791 92	1,949 04	3,028 97	2,084 87	7,062 88	22,463 94	85,045 57
4,255 11	1,823 42	61 05	1,541 78	7,181 36	2,732 03	1,918 40	1,885 54	6,535 97	16,132 55	69,930 68
2,955 69	1,140 93	64 06	1,372 21	5,532 89	1,706 45	1,118 88	1,250 29	4,075 62	11,913 60	48,060 99
8,759 36	1,262 62	146 71	2,437 01	12,605 70	2,435 78	2,984 01	2,542 66	7,962 45	20,279 28	91,279 31
3,142 92	1,056 81	26 07	1,031 95	5,257 75	2,493 51	2,040 44	1,380 11	5,914 06	12,666 62	62,535 03
739 50	1,384 20	38 33	1,224 43	3,386 46	3,419 83	3,757 48	1,891 11	9,068 42	13,199 19	65,471 22
25 63	46 33	0 09	12 57	84 64	96 15	20 57	24 50	141 22	258 27	703 94
33,543 82	8,810 71	577 33	12,084 89	55,016 75	17,363 71	17,383 71	12,918 98	47,566 40	121,901 01	508,620 74
8,570 92	3,211 65	....	4,283 31	16,065 88	6,062 51	5,299 22	19,738 41	31,100 14	51,512 55	184,486 45
42,114 74	12,022 36	577 33	16,368 30	71,082 63	23,426 22	22,582 93	32,657 40	78,666 55	173,415 36	693,107 19
51,087 59	8,865 78	2,758 05	14,269 55	76,480 97	14,626 27	28,982 56	22,099 66	65,708 49	197,417 64	548,007 82
48,176 42	8,104 14	1,585 70	15,360 37	73,226 63	13,623 81	25,723 13	14,490 48	53,837 42	177,219 38	586,191 93
33,543 82	8,810 71	577 33	12,084 89	55,016 75	17,363 71	17,383 71	12,918 98	47,566 40	121,901 01	508,620 74
182,807 53	25,380 68	4,921 08	41,714 81	304,724 35	45,613 79	71,989 49	49,509 12	167,112 31	495,538 03	1,642,820 49
8,570 92	3,211 65	....	4,283 31	16,065 88	6,062 51	5,299 22	19,738 41	31,100 14	51,512 55	184,486 45
141,378 75	28,492 38	4,921 08	45,998 12	220,790 23	51,676 30	77,363 62	69,247 53	198,212 46	548,050 56	1,827,306 94

Name of thana.	Cereals and Pulses.									
	Rice.			Wheat.	Barley.	Cumba or Bajra.	Ragi or Marua.	Maize.	Gram (Pulse).	
	Aus.	Aman.	Boro.							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A BLOCK.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	
Krishnagar ..	33,032 04	13,745 33	11 08	584 72	128 19	0 32	0 92	112 33	5,408 85	
Ranaghat ..	33,588 45	30,489 71	....	19 29	68 26	....	....	8 21	847 09
Santipur ..	12,882 35	5,733 22	32 05	42 46	94 80	....	....	1 56	224 91
Kaliganj ..	16,893 52	16,448 97	72 94	798 43	148 44	3 64	....	3 87	5,089 07
Chakdha ..	18,122 18	25,651 95	11 55	112 53	61 10	....	24 75	1 09	82 51
Vakshipara ..	23,820 81	16,982 08	146 65	1,337 57	145 70	....	....	255 30	8,388 34
Nabadwip ..	10,608 16	479 94	46 03	331 40	179 60	....	....	1 25	2,063 69
Haringhata ..	8,187 47	14,730 26	....	4 03	2 36	....	0 29	....	4 59
Total ..	157,134 98	124,261 46	320 30	3,230 43	828 35	3 96	25 96	384 21	22,009 05	
B BLOCK.										
Tehatta ..	28,261 10	33,498 15	3 18	3,322 54	405 20	....	....	23 32	17,131 49
Meherpur ..	25,668 37	17,967 31	35 26	1,954 31	208 48	....	....	1 32	13,024 77
Chaudanga ..	27,488 60	12,329 76	0 70	739 70	1,076 65	....	0 46	3 59	11,880 53
Damurhuda ..	29,644 26	13,362 47	14 98	1,350 29	669 71	....	....	2 83	13,451 95
Jibannagar ..	18,981 57	10,844 72	....	383 98	261 40	....	....	....	8,866 39
Hanskhali ..	17,153 81	26,541 83	....	72 69	100 08	....	....	0 47	5,103 51
Chapra ..	23,023 33	22,621 00	61 25	675 94	184 93	....	....	26 21	12,038 25
Krishnaganj ..	11,630 37	8,024 81	85 18	241 00	232 04	....	....	0 09	5,513 78
Total ..	181,851 41	145,190 05	200 55	8,740 45	3,139 09	....	0 46	57 83	87,010 67
C BLOCK.										
Alamdanga ..	43,552 30	11,061 30	....	2,552 59	1,446 26	....	....	....	7,433 81
Gangni ..	34,198 06	18,444 75	1 93	2,357 81	802 62	2 32	2 19	0 20	7,929 30	
Mirpur ..	32,251 95	13,337 78	....	1,188 40	1,193 71	....	....	....	4,166 83
Daulatpur ..	29,963 43	5,662 01	....	1,724 08	1,281 15	....	0 92	....	7,793 63
Karimpur ..	33,916 06	13,015 24	0 53	4,248 78	535 47	....	5 10	....	18,078 82
Kushdia ..	33,642 08	8,632 03	537 20	1,247 93	385 60	....	....	....	3,807 57
Kumarkhali and Khoksa	18,929 84	23,364 26	1 55	835 38	521 57	....	....	1 18	774 95
Bheramara ..	223 47	4 94	....	....	6 91	....	....	....	40 11
Done by Nadia ..	217,677 79	93,522 31	541 21	14,154 97	6,173 29	2 32	8 21	1 38	44,525 02	
Done by Rajshahi ..	84,855 80	6,770 94	77 43	2,584 43	4,540 82	....	....	....	8,482 59
Total ..	302,533 59	100,293 25	618 64	16,739 40	10,714 11	2 32	8 21	1 38	53,007 61	
Block A ..	157,134 98	124,261 46	320 30	3,230 43	828 35	3 96	25 96	384 21	22,009 05	
Block B ..	181,851 41	145,190 05	200 55	8,740 45	3,139 09	....	0 46	57 83	87,010 67
Block C ..	217,677 97	93,522 31	541 21	14,154 97	6,173 29	2 32	8 21	1 38	44,525 02	
Done by Nadia ..	556,664 18	362,973 82	1,062 06	26,134 85	10,140 73	6 28	34 63	443 42	153,544 74	
Done by Rajshahi ..	84,855 80	6,770 94	77 43	2,584 43	4,540 82	....	....	....	8,482 59
GRAND TOTALS of Nadia district ..	641,519 98	369,744 76	1,139 79	28,719 28	14,681 55	6 28	34 63	443 42	162,027 33	

Statement.

Other food grains includ- ing pulses.	Oil-seeds.				Condiments and spices.	Sugar.		Fibres.			
	Linseed.	Sesamum. (til or jinjil).	Rape and mustard.	Others.		Sugarcane.	Others.	Cotton.	Hemp. (Sunn).	Jute.	
	11	12	13	14		15	16	17	18	19	20	21
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
15,617 74	2,225 18	114 09	877 06	175 75	87 27	3 13	....	7 08	....	....	853 16
16,056 18	314 98	74 71	3,040 78	15 03	324 40	115 68	9 08	....	....	....	1,940 21
7,784 93	289 31	20 56	70 83	23 31	65 21	13 51	0 16	....	0 44	....	1,456 25
7,543 53	982 05	75 04	417 36	12 55	20 35	116 80	....	0 37	2 00	....	474 80
7,781 85	12 78	63 56	314 09	8 59	351 98	276 29	2 85	....	....	....	5,438 26
7,222 08	2,566 33	81 82	1,059 58	145 48	36 36	121 03	11 65	....	....	....	760 72
7,002 64	236 27	8 02	171 00	100 57	18 42	26 88	....	....	....	....	1,051 58
2,618 59	4 85	16 73	89 62	....	786 14	147 66	0 04	....	....	....	1,797 94
71,627 51	6,632 35	454 53	6,040 32	481 28	1,690 13	820 98	23 78	7 45	2 44	....	13,772 93
11,237 40	5,575 52	577 51	3,506 24	86 64	398 50	244 68	7 85	0 39	....	....	1,297 43
5,716 71	6,276 86	524 20	1,273 58	516 18	1,062 00	144 53	9 69	2 27	....	....	1,618 15
5,280 77	2,892 19	282 13	925 36	87 07	1,222 34	114 37	110 07	0 20	....	....	893 11
5,172 25	4,809 65	407 60	902 93	295 27	1,206 93	12 14	14 37	0 44	....	....	3,864 86
3,485 51	674 58	22 85	1,275 38	5 72	837 57	19 32	82 73	....	....	....	686 83
6,191 23	627 16	67 90	1,530 17	4 06	300 90	57 48	19 09	....	....	....	2,242 86
7,611 93	2,651 14	427 31	513 81	29 00	323 36	32 70	21 43	0 35	....	....	5,095 67
2,251 51	1,332 07	20 52	352 60	4 73	238 80	3 13	39 32	....	....	....	1,574 23
46,947 31	24,780 07	2,330 11	10,280 07	1,028 67	5,590 40	628 35	304 55	3 65	....	....	17,272 84
7,993 31	7,109 49	132 56	763 31	636 38	475 33	1,242 90	33 63	0 52	....	....	4,043 31
8,378 82	7,628 00	216 11	1,019 28	796 17	639 60	1,066 38	3 25	....	....	....	960 07
10,065 18	2,642 67	241 70	1,591 87	605 14	525 46	773 03	1 30	0 46	....	....	2,254 43
6,426 12	3,629 50	75 87	644 32	663 65	515 99	411 90	....	....	0 25	....	2,734 47
11,085 63	8,837 71	307 63	933 37	262 81	304 70	709 14	....	....	....	....	840 54
11,554 17	1,127 30	276 02	911 07	931 20	368 84	824 16	1 15	....	....	....	3,007 23
7,296 14	625 37	81 06	904 10	397 54	413 36	2,082 87	0 30	....	0 50	....	4,099 30
37 33	44 82	....	12 38	....	24 51	....	....	....	....	....	6 15
62,837 30	31,644 86	1,330 95	6,779 70	4,292 89	3,267 79	7,100 38	39 63	0 98	0 75	....	17,945 56
50,115 84	1,952 79	733 04	7,933 37	732 20	1,623 62	1,078 44	....	....	0 24	....	12,134 35
112,953 14	33,597 65	2,063 99	14,713 07	5,025 09	4,891 41	8,178 82	39 63	0 98	0 99	....	30,079 85
71,627 51	6,632 35	454 53	6,040 32	481 28	1,690 13	820 98	23 78	7 45	2 44	....	13,772 93
46,947 31	24,780 07	2,330 11	10,280 07	1,028 67	5,590 40	628 35	304 55	3 65	....	....	17,272 84
62,837 30	31,644 86	1,330 95	6,779 70	4,292 89	3,267 79	7,100 38	39 63	0 98	0 75	....	17,945 56
181,412 12	63,057 28	4,115 59	23,100 09	5,802 84	10,548 32	8,549 71	367 96	12 08	3 19	....	38,991 27
50,115 84	1,951 79	733 04	7,933 37	732 20	1,623 62	1,078 44	....	....	0 24	....	12,134 35
231,527 96	65,010 07	4,848 63	31,033 46	6,535 04	12,171 94	9,629 15	367 96	12 08	3 43	....	61,125 62

Name of thana.	Fibres.	Dyes.		Drugs and Narcotics.						Fodder crops (including Jowar and Kajal).
	(Others.	Indigo.	Others.	Tea.	Tobacco.	Cinchona.	Indian Hemp (Ganja).	Betel.	Others.	
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
A BLOCK	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
Krishnagar	88 02	....	....	3 78	16 57	....
Ranaghat	316 22	....	....	2 89	4 65	177 77
Santipur	5 13	....	....	....	12 64	....
Kaliganj	153 83	....	....	10 35	....	....	33 09	56 49	0 90
Chakdha	1,007 56	....	....	38 52	0 84	....
Nakashipara	0 85	....	....	29 26	....	....	127 02	2 83	0 71
Nabadwip	14 91	....	....	5 73	....	....
Haringhata	1,390 89	....	....	....	....	....
Total	154 18	....	....	2,807 34	....	....	205 53	94 02	179 88
B BLOCK.										
Telhatta	172 97	....	....	4 58	....	736 53
Meherpur	10 89	....	....	197 00	....	....	33 90	....	466 79
Chaudanga	124 19	....	....	8 64	....	205 16
Damurbuda	141 15	....	....	16 45	....	454 28
Jibannagar	56 60	....	....	7 00	....	880 24
Hanskhali	45 46	....	....	....	....	2,945 31
Chapra	73 05	....	....	....	6 89	2,791 16
Krishnaganj	27 06	....	....	13 55	....	632 12
Total	10 89	....	....	837 48	....	....	84 12	6 89	9,111 59
C BLOCK.										
Alamdanga	100 33	....	....	45 04	....	1,235 44
Gangul	1,346 96	....	....	106 99	....	....	6 92	....	1,799 29
Mirpur	85 80	....	....	130 86	....	1,334 92
Daulatpur	573 64	....	....	54 66	....	....	36 86	....	742 16
Karimpur	244 75	....	....	94 81	....	....	124 68	....	1,871 99
Kushtia	87 52	....	....	51 89	....	7,005 28
Kumarkhali and Khoksa	53 24	....	....	45 73	....	717 07
Bheramara	2 02	....	....	5 93	....	44 01
Done by Nadia	2,165 35	....	....	585 37	....	....	447 91	....	14,750 16
Done by Rajshahi ..	85 32	....	1,967 64	....	892 22	....	....	819 99	37 34	313 13
Total ..	85 32	2,165 35	1,967 64	....	1,477 59	....	....	1,267 90	37 34	15,004 09
Block A	154 18	....	....	2,807 34	....	....	205 53	94 02	179 88
Block B	10 89	....	....	837 48	....	....	84 12	6 89	9,111 59
Block C	2,165 35	....	....	585 37	....	....	447 91	....	14,750 16
Done by Nadia	2,330 42	....	....	4,230 19	....	....	787 56	100 91	24,041 18
Done by Rajshahi ..	85 32	....	1,967 64	....	892 22	....	....	857 88	....	313 93
GRAND TOTAL of Nadia district ..	85 32	2,330 42	1,967 64	....	5,122 41	....	....	1,594 89	100 91	24,355 06

B—concluded.

Statement—concluded.

Fruits and vegetables (including root crops).			Miscellaneous crops.		Total.	Area shown more than once.	Net area shown.	Remarks.
Fruits.	Potato.	Others.	Food.	Non-food.				
32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. F.	A. D.	A. D.	
5,716 78	15 92	489 06	0 65	3 73	79,263 75	20,877 62	58,386 13	
5,710 44	135 97	897 92	2 17	39 07	94,198 61	19,141 12	75,057 49	
3,055 17	87 00	911 63	....	1 76	82,809 19	7,162 77	25,646 42	
1,691 56	67 95	390 14	1 32	10 91	51,470 89	8,293 15	43,177 74	
4,295 10	278 66	1,464 07	1 65	3 81	65,348 62	8,936 85	56,411 77	
2,640 20	65 77	233 66	7 78	....	66,189 09	17,123 84	49,065 25	
949 51	14 40	610 56	1 86	....	23,922 42	9,046 85	14,875 57	
1,750 82	129 79	269 01	....	....	31,931 08	3,961 27	27,969 81	
25,809 58	790 46	5,266 05	15 43	59 28	445,133 65	94,543 47	350,590 18	
2,134 66	71 07	937 90	31 46	6 55	109,672 86	30,987 27	78,685 59	
3,183 24	132 56	462 06	35 58	....	80,516 70	23,041 08	57,475 62	
2,484 07	10 90	738 33	16 74	....	68,855 63	20,147 96	48,707 67	
2,977 10	27 93	359 15	33 00	....	79,200 99	24,949 41	54,251 58	
2,776 72	8 06	412 92	5 59	....	50,575 38	14,211 97	36,363 41	
1,545 42	5 37	403 69	....	....	64,938 49	14,475 37	50,463 12	
1,078 84	10 42	372 38	10 28	....	79,680 63	22,361 95	57,318 68	
2,158 13	5 65	536 86	8 66	....	34,927 71	9,240 83	25,686 88	
8,338 18	271 26	4,213 89	141 31	6 55	568,388 39	159,415 84	408,972 55	
2,723 61	10 48	616 11	146 87	....	93,354 88	26,801 44	66,553 44	
1,729 50	25 23	123 99	365 81	....	89,942 15	27,300 52	6,250 63	
2,123 89	0 61	522 79	500 99	....	75,539 77	21,741 64	53,798 13	
1,562 04	0 65	91 26	1,789 39	....	57,377 95	21,230 56	36,147 39	
3,578 76	7 93	424 45	211 57	....	94,642 19	29,642 16	65,000 03	
1,792 03	6 00	268 93	354 75	....	76,319 85	26,398 44	49,921 41	
2,851 10	3 32	435 27	16 15	....	64,461 15	12,179 12	52,272 03	
146 42	....	5 89	7 53	....	613 02	167 35	445 67	
16,507 35	54 22	2,488 59	3,393 06	....	552,240 96	165,521 23	386,719 73	
8,100 31	224 79	136 62	....	8 82	196,202 88	63,228 98	132,973 90	
24,607 66	279 01	2,625 21	3,393 06	8 82	748,443 84	228,750 21	519,693 63	
25,809 58	790 46	5,266 05	15 43	59 28	445,133 65	945,403 47	350,590 18	
18,328 18	271 96	4,213 89	141 31	6 55	568,388 39	159,415 84	408,972 55	
16,507 35	54 22	2,488 59	3,393 06	....	552,240 96	165,521 23	386,719 73	
40,655 11	1,116 64	11,968 53	3,549 80	65 83	1,565,763 00	419,480 54	1,146,282 46	
8,100 31	234 79	136 62	....	8 82	196,202 88	63,228 98	132,973 90	
68,755 42	1,341 48	12,105 15	3,549 80	74 65	1,761,965 88	482,709 52	1,279,256 36	

Agricultural Stock

Name of thana.	No. of homestead plots.	Bulls.	Bulls reared or bred in Government farms with name of farm.	Bullocks.	Cows.	Calves.	Male buffaloes.	Female buffaloes.	Buffalo calves.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Krishnagar ..	15,630	712	....	12,427	14,152	12,256	1,485	474	388
Nabadwip ..	7,221	91	....	3,825	5,300	4,135	728	349	211
Ranaghat ..	11,140	1,768	....	16,838	16,407	14,686	2,348	166	69
Nakashipara ..	12,682	828	....	10,532	11,630	8,777	2,991	559	314
Chakdha ..	7,598	1,743	....	11,593	12,382	10,797	950	55	216
Haringhata ..	5,280	666	....	6,192	5,182	5,295	41	2	45
Sentipur ..	12,552	268	....	4,655	5,547	5,614	487	35	68
Kaliganj ..	9,055	769	....	6,597	8,646	8,237	2,385	431	151
Total ..	81,158	6,848	....	72,159	79,246	69,797	11,415	2,071	1,456
Tehatta ..	15,632	931	8	15,465	14,660	12,832	5,797	479	267
Meherpur ..	11,140	726	5	12,806	10,366	9,845	1,638	180	143
Chuadanga ..	7,359	863	31	11,701	8,180	8,002	2,213	150	73
Damurhuda ..	9,055	265	9	11,762	8,800	7,528	1,827	117	62
Jibannagar ..	5,241	770	8	8,798	5,736	5,473	845	51	31
Hanskhali ..	7,598	316	12	12,572	9,081	8,159	1,282	134	14
Chajra ..	12,682	310	7	17,195	11,073	10,523	2,254	347	226
*Krishnagarj ..	4,977	449	9	7,071	6,310	5,640	488	34	35
Total ..	73,584	4,636	84	97,970	74,206	68,002	16,334	1,492	851
Alamdanga ..	11,240	1,301	9	13,180	12,275	10,546	5,939	559	157
Ganai ..	10,447	866	12	11,810	10,644	9,934	4,481	282	140
Mirpur ..	10,093	1,734	7	9,059	10,992	9,797	3,272	1,023	184
Daulatpur ..	7,582	1,054	14	7,773	10,092	8,247	3,434	211	73
Karimpur ..	14,211	1,286	11	14,169	13,722	12,898	3,451	338	258
Kushia ..	9,315	2,682	96	9,399	9,083	8,447	3,747	416	133
Kumarkhali and Khoksa	2,336	4,945	8	13,603	10,243	11,378	2,770	240	90
Bheramara ..	247	16	135	184	211	29	2	....	....
Total ..	65,471	13,884	292	79,177	77,263	71,276	*27,096	3,069	1,025
Area done by Rajshahi Settlement ..	31,017	8,717	....	25,048	27,110	24,981	7,956	1,134	626
GRAND TOTAL ..	96,488	22,601	292	104,225	104,373	96,257	35,052	4,203	1,651

Statement.

Sheep.	Goats.	Horses.	Mares.	Young stock (colts and fillies).	Mules.	Donkeys.	Elephants.	Camels.	Pigs.	Ploughs.	Carts.	Boats.
11	12	13(a)	13(b)	13(c)	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
3,379	8,322	536	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	5,067	2,164	120
1,294	1,772	104	....	....	....	....	....	....	17	1,462	552	103
2,263	8,270	294	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	7,403	2,860	263
2,759	2,995	290	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	4,587	1,600	230
2,581	5,993	104	15	9	....	....	....	....	....	6,051	2,102	132
88	2,769	64	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	2,714	1,295	74
849	2,349	271	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1,932	744	104
2,823	2,267	183	5	....	....	....	....	....	45	3,375	1,148	45
16,036	32,757	1,796	30	9	....	....	....	....	62	32,591	12,465	1,071
2,680	2,666	298	200	90	1	....	....	....	220	7,961	3,218	....
2,783	2,896	289	209	59	....	....	....	....	145	4,928	2,132	64
3,191	5,272	188	105	39	1	....	....	....	37	5,226	1,781	31
2,182	2,786	123	50	30	....	....	....	....	....	5,174	1,743	80
1,176	2,532	496	56	14	....	6	3	....	84	3,525	1,388	10
1,043	5,164	329	72	28	....	....	....	....	229	5,384	2,081	52
3,348	5,197	323	165	12	5	1	....	....	2	6,771	2,803	97
700	2,884	97	57	16	....	....	....	....	....	3,016	1,050	29
17,103	29,397	2,110	914	318	7	7	3	....	717	41,985	16,196	363
3,678	9,085	651	129	37	2	....	1	....	19	7,122	2,681	26
1,907	5,805	483	191	114	67	11	3	....	8	5,325	1,836	146
1,902	5,830	119	81	21	....	1	....	....	....	5,434	1,605	60
953	4,468	259	158	51	3	....	....	....	....	3,614	1,470	11
1,276	6,943	312	296	136	1	....	....	....	22	5,741	2,622	40
1,067	5,085	192	57	5	....	....	1	....	5	5,707	1,791	338
477	2,193	124	36	67	2	1	1	3	....	7,234	973	277
125	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	43	11	29
11,164	39,409	2,140	948	431	75	13	6	3	56	40,220	12,989	927
2,142	15,593	1,127	....	....	....	....	....	....	63	12,163	2,961	1,198
13,306	55,002	3,267	948	431	75	13	6	3	119	52,383	15,950	2,120

In the district

Name and tanzil number of estate.	Khatian number (if used for totals of many villages, enter in columns 1 and 2, then a number and name of village.)	In the district									
		Proprietors.				Rent-free tenure-holders.		Service tenure-holders.		Permanent tenure-holders not at fixed rents or rates.	
		As private lands.		Not as private lands.		Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.
		Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Krishnagar	608	4,324.64	3,915	4,890.63	188	144.27	620	992.61
Nabadwip	95	3,619.70	889	586.56	3	11.91	135	326.49
Santipur	360	4,882.98	2,206	3,025.28	7	4.66	199	757.72
Ranaghat	895	4,172.65	5,998	6,165.82	6	..	1,712	4,009.43
Kaliganj	835	4,435.19	3,130	4,330.95	1	.28	491	1,144.69
Nakashipara	529	5,451.74	3,495	4,132.77	3	.63	176	1,226.79
Chakdha	973	4,216.84	5,191	3,405.37	61	8.76	1,188	2,245.96
Haringhata	369	3,767.39	2,305	2,142.62	1	..	492	1,678.64
Tehatta	347	2,881.72	1,714	2,685.34	3	1.31	151	572.75
Krishnaganj	356	1,037.62	1,004	1,113.38	1	.58	279	720.21
Jibannagar	299	1,272.13	1,876	1,836.17	..	..	284	639.85
Meherpur	403	1,502.25	1,910	2,999.72	7	8.66	218	437.50
Kanskhal	487	2,000.61	1,282	1,518.75	38	18.16	190	912.41
Chuadanga	289	2,969.94	1,933	2,182.87	..	..	437	879.36
Damurhuda	323	1,234.45	1,571	2,211.55	11	50.38	158	473.93
Chapra	318	1,689.67	1,047	1,422.33	8	7.67	98	550.09
Kumarkhal	591	952.18	1,758	986.56	87	40.00	901	791.26
Kushtia	236	1,146.89	1,675	1,470.74	30	28.14	615	701.79
Karimpur	407	1,697.61	2,919	3,027.99	..	..	585	1,481.34
Mirpur	221	4,517.22	1,310	1,547.55	41	48.01	470	1,264.35
Daulatpur	174	936.05	666	749.74	2	1.51	618	1,812.54
Gangul	229	1,730.78	454	676.78	5	7.90	248	1,414.51
Alamdanga	343	802.67	1,127	1,238.68	80	68.59	955	1,485.90
Khoksa	201	420.91	615	298.31	6	4.14	586	535.43
Bheramara	6	14.61	27	37.94	..	..	14	17.12
Total area done by Nadia Settlement.	9,389	51,878.43	50,087	54,184.45	589	455.46	11,820	26,572.67
Kumarkhal	1	96	91	10,117.13	223	201.32	7	6.89	468	837.29
..	Partly done by Rajshahi Settlement.										
Kushtia	Ditto	..	65	1,075.68	101	96.81	..	..	242	561.32
Karimpur	Ditto	..	27	4,598.01	235	338.29	..	..	92	3,274.04
Mirpur	Ditto	..	17	1,515.23	74	106.99	..	..	154	273.26
Daulatpur	Ditto	..	95	3,696.35	110	118.71	..	..	197	3,143.16
Bheramara	Ditto	..	80	3,445.19	296	433.51	..	..	671	1,998.32
Total area done by Rajshahi Settlement.	..	1	96	375	24,447.59	1,039	1,295.63	7	6.89	1,824	10,107.40
TOTAL OF DISTRICT	..	1	96	9,764	86,326.02	51,076	55,480.08	596	462.35	13,644	36,680.07

Land Tenure.

occupation								Ralyats (rent-free).		Ralyats (service).	
Permanent tenure-holders abridged rents or rates.		Temporary tenure-holders.		Tenure-holders on rent in kind or combined cash and kind.		Other classes.		Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.
Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.				
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1,780	11,452.73	39	300.93	..	..	39	24.00	3	5.07	216	418.53
577	1,943.75	3	2.05	..	..	5	.41	..	..	72	89.59
547	5,643.07	27	368.15	1	..	29	24.78	4	.52	52	57.98
3,969	10,989.87	454	624.67	..	..	72	104.77	4	1.97	142	60.81
963	8,018.30	60	1,219.75	31	46.40	94	281.06	..	..	617	1,519.34
1,780	11,092.08	16	248.77	62	20.41	235	434.10	3	6.92	600	678.92
2,751	6,348.70	146	90.33	2	2.70	83	389.02	3	.73	228	99.92
1,406	3,568.80	37	13.31	..	..	83	96.69	7	3.47	189	69.51
1,440	12,120.38	49	216.76	1	1.05	173	795.45	3	3.70	585	1,614.01
314	3,358.06	25	60.22	..	..	39	4.94	..	..	103	110.43
995	3,036.05	7	19.77	..	..	136	450.56	..	..	147	203.52
1,558	10,636.67	31	94.41	9	20.65	244	291.78	..	..	338	1,144.08
1,022	4,727.41	31	115.01	2	1.50	27	113.13	8	10.37	52	67.81
1,156	4,513.35	38	9.42	..	..	276	663.86	1	.22	225	577.48
904	6,581.43	18	18.77	2	5.21	173	252.55	3	2.49	335	731.35
942	8,686.13	41	109.53	10	5.70	103	245.99	..	..	187	425.48
1,921	1,642.48	81	102.38	7	4.86	129	132.68	2	6.46	89	46.08
1,626	2,469.64	31	87.75	..	..	278	374.43	..	..	199	255.73
1,888	5,601.17	50	72.32	24	14.16	92	116.50	8	12.52	446	1,545.23
1,038	3,664.89	41	180.65	6	..	478	594.76	..	..	309	667.55
960	1,865.39	83	196.44	..	..	522	873.03	1	.42	268	579.23
1,072	7,041.51	68	35.23	6	..	86	149.75	10	39.39	326	884.39
1,220	3,759.90	56	123.30	4	1.71	163	236.05	5	8.93	344	578.64
1,497	1,354.23	39	32.67	..	..	108	112.15	11	5.99	86	55.28
22	55.80	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	9.12
33,408	140,173.89	1,471	4,342.59	167	124.35	3,667	6,762.44	76	109.17	6,171	12,489.86
111	1,886.39	4	10.76	..	..	4	6.61	..	..	56	30.20
766	838.15	..	..	..	..	37	150.21	..	..	27	28.73
159	5,818.42	2	55.70	..	..	..	..	..	..	65	213.37
55	138.03	..	..	..	..	6	28.92	..	..	48	112.69
311	2,604.38	22	1,337.26	..	..	12	60.24	..	..	133	310.02
335	1,426.50	4	39.00	..	..	8	19.13	2	.68	223	544.59
1,727	12,711.87	32	1,442.72	..	..	67	265.11	2	.68	552	1,239.60
35,135	152,885.76	1,503	5,785.31	167	124.35	3,734	7,027.55	78	109.85	6,723	13,729.46

APPENDIX

Statistics of

Name and tauti number of estate.	Ralyats at fixed rent or rate of rent (cash).				Settled and occupancy ralyats (cash rent).			
	Number of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence of rent.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence of rent.
	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
			Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.			Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Krishnagar	2,189	498.30	19,558 15 3	1 9 0	11,040	26,432.91	59,372 15 0	2 3 11
Nabadwip	433	823.62	1,507 8 2	1 13 3	4,239	8,196.51	23,020 7 2	2 12 11
Santipur	1,415	4,138.43	8,599 15 11	2 1 3	7,716	14,053.42	36,980 7 5	2 10 1
Ranaghat	3,645	19,789.58	32,259 12 10	1 10 1	17,191	41,263.61	89,987 3 4	2 2 11
Kaliganj	932	3,306.97	8,995 7 6	2 11 6	11,679	17,820.00	54,946 10 9	3 1 4
Nakashipara	838	4,694.24	6,934 9 7	1 5 10	10,723	19,042.20	38,230 0 4	2 0 1
Chakdha	5,637	20,894.75	48,015 13 2	2 4 9	18,178	29,820.04	92,502 9 4	3 1 7
Haringhata	2,731	8,188.18	22,052 4 4	2 11 1	10,196	16,418.86	58,903 7 1	3 0 6
Tehatta	4,232	13,226.63	23,530 8 2	1 12 6	17,380	31,086.84	78,328 9 1	2 8 4
Krishnaganj	3,365	14,787.34	20,858 7 3	1 6 7	5,038	11,251.93	23,301 14 6	2 1 2
Jibannagar	2,605	16,309.67	20,287 5 11	1 3 5	9,181	23,597.68	47,126 12 11	1 15 13
Meherpur	2,485	7,002.51	16,827 5 0	2 6 5	10,558	27,215.50	70,129 12 8	2 9 2
Hanskhali	2,918	21,445.25	27,339 2 4	1 4 4	6,519	28,112.30	49,979 10 8	1 12 5
Chandanga	2,268	14,554.70	21,455 10 6	1 7 4	13,238	39,073.09	77,042 10 1	1 15 7
Damurhuda	2,895	21,913.17	47,604 9 10	1 14 11	10,827	26,956.39	61,024 6 5	2 4 3
Chapra	2,482	17,564.63	26,474 8 6	1 8 1	5,699	18,183.63	37,213 10 8	2 0 9
Kumarkhali	8,224	18,337.62	33,260 10 2	1 13 0	14,654	19,119.84	69,469 5 0	3 9 11
Kushtia	9,491	25,590.09	57,331 10 4	2 3 10	15,400	29,802.07	78,829 3 6	2 10 4
Karimpur	2,099	6,680.65	11,505 4 9	1 14 3	22,707	44,048.08	1,16,120 12 3	2 10 2
Mirpur	5,017	16,697.29	33,153 1 4	1 15 9	15,587	38,378.82	97,018 10 0	2 8 5
Daulatpur	1,308	6,888.05	12,628 3 11	1 13 4	13,911	24,894.86	66,370 4 6	2 10 8
Gangul	2,091	10,214.90	20,218 4 1	1 15 9	17,067	46,862.93	1,27,401 6 0	2 11 6
Alamdanga	7,324	30,480.48	53,813 14 3	1 12 3	17,349	42,395.80	95,128 6 2	2 3 11
Khoksa	3,306	4,770.72	12,270 3 4	2 9 2	8,114	11,733.60	38,740 7 1	3 4 10
Bheramara	22	51.94	107 13 9	2 1 3	515	502.40	1,880 1 3	3 11 10
Total area done by Nadia Settlement.	79,952	320,249.66	5,86,591 2 2	1 13 4	295,996	639,206.39	15,69,080 12 4	2 7 3
Kumarkhali	301	1,121.46	2,523 1 2	2 4 0	10,775	18,108.45	62,441 13 0	3 7 2
Kushtia	316	813.57	1,675 10 8	2 0 11	7,495	11,314.54	36,313 5 9	3 3 4
Karimpur	217	825.39	762 9 6	0 14 9	7,042	13,464.39	29,519 6 3	2 3 0
Mirpur	40	300.58	587 7 3	1 15 3	2,584	5,804.63	18,477 11 3	3 12 11
Daulatpur	170	721.46	1,850 15 5	2 9 0	10,847	22,741.47	50,378 14 1	2 3 5
Bheramara	390	2,533.61	5,721 9 2	1 12 3	11,725	16,959.74	35,370 14 6	2 1 4
Total area done by Rajshahi Settlement.	1,924	6,316.07	13,121 5 2	2 1 3	50,468	88,393.22	2,32,502 0 10	2 10 1
TOTAL OF DISTRICT ..	81,876	326,565.73	5,99,712 7 4	1 18 5	346,464	727,659.61	17,01,582 13 2	2 7 5

continued.

Land Tenure—continued.

Non-occupancy riyats (cash-rent).				Settled and occupancy riyats on fixed produce rents.		Settled and occupancy riyats on share of produce rent.		Non-occupancy riyats on fixed produce rent.		Non-occupancy riyats on share of produce rent.	
Number of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence of rent.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.
33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44
		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.								
438	607.21	2,143 14 2	3 8 6	7	6.35	226	191.18	13	11.16	58	59.48
203	298.58	2,004 1 8	6 4 0	4	5.69	164	140.82	..	..	39	87.27
540	951.59	2,520 13 2	2 10 5	1	.10	20	15.31	..	..	26	64.54
1,148	1,626.47	6,011 3 8	2 7 6	30	20.72	101	92.25	4	2.96	59	44.69
366	677.74	3,519 3 8	5 3 1	1	.57	480	424.87	10	9.53	36	31.35
91	212.55	624 1 7	2 3 4	21	20.53	339	306.20	4	2.28	95	98.90
1,728	1,809.43	8,058 4 9	4 4 11	463	375.97	49	38.06	42	27.88	8	7.37
247	316.95	1,639 1 5	5 2 9	231	198.27	87	55.74	3	7.63	..	..
55	89.76	447 12 6	4 15 10	165	180.63	59	51.64	1	1.60	3	3.80
101	125.25	449 4 10	3 9 5	85	69.05	63	50.74	2	1.75	6	6.58
31	44.67	130 9 11	2 14 9	130	136.12	15	11.43	..	..	1	.56
254	534.92	1,803 8 11	3 5 11	137	116.07	39	33.26	9	5.44	4	2.32
194	277.16	745 12 0	2 11 1	5	6.40	14	15.62	4	2.68	..	..
205	449.31	1,058 0 11	2 5 8	93	81.48	40	39.80	11	9.16	..	..
210	457.00	1,643 4 0	3 9 6	93	100.21	30	21.05	..	..	2	1.65
257	373.41	2,579 13 9	6 14 6	153	102.39	39	31.99	14	5.89	8	7.15
238	618.76	1,955 13 1	3 2 7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13	11.59	57 6 0	4 15 2	2	2.01	..	..	..	..	..	..
161	181.03	605 1 1	4 5 5	26	22.07	2	1.15	..	..	..	..
181	424.04	1,597 4 1	3 12 3	8	8.64	3	5.08	..	..	..	..
85	87.84	355 0 6	4 0 8	20	25.41	..	..	..	..	..	..
191	234.94	681 9 8	*2 14 5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
444	289.19	1,362 9 2	4 11 5	24	29.07	..	..	..	..	..	..
24	13.04	91 8 6	7 0 3	1	.11	..	..	..	..	..	..
..
7,490	10,772.43	42,085 3 7	3 14 6	1,700	1,507.86	1,770	1,526.19	117	87.96	345	365.66
3,445	6,243.80	29,368 3 6	4 11 3	..	..	3,012	1,787.53	7	.64	847	744.43
482	525.54	2,564 7 2	4 14 1	..	..	1,928	1,609.39	..	..	13	11.47
2,826	5,234.06	18,491 3 8	3 8 6	4	11.64	134	113.58	..	..	236	144.22
450	971.13	2,782 7 5	2 13 10	2	5.98	1,308	985.30	1	1.51	219	321.02
2,840	4,659.55	15,931 14 9	3 6 8	84	247.77	416	364.06	3	5.16	273	365.33
296	380.53	1,294 0 9	5 0 1	..	..	2,150	2,237.61	..	..	189	300.70
10,839	18,014.67	70,432 3 3	3 14 7	90	265.39	8,048	7,087.47	11	7.31	1,807	1,884.17
17,829	28,787.10	1,12,517 6 10	3 1 6	1,790	1,773.25	10,718	8,623.60	128	95.27	2,152	2,249.83

Name and tauli number of state.	Settled and occupancy rayats on combined cash and produce rent.		Non-occupancy rayats on combined cash and produce rent.		Other classes.		Occupants (e.g., if non-agricultural holdings).		
	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Total area.	Rent.
	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53
									Rs. A. P.
Krishnagar ..	..	..	..	..	231	100.28	6,737	1,315.41	13,365 7 10
Nabadwip ..	..	..	..	..	2	35	4,333	491.20	5,987 14 8
Santipur ..	..	..	..	..	24	12.20	818	140.27	1,152 7 6
Ranaghat ..	7	10.93	2	4.01	30	58.55	2,844	476.16	6,549 8 6
Kaliganj ..	102	73.13	4	3.81	4	16.07	977	116.15	1,413 6 10
Nakashipara ..	30	19.09	6	4.52	61	33.62	1,418	260.15	1,899 9 7
Chakdha ..	167	266.81	8	30.74	28	454.18	1,247	246.73	2,021 15 9
Haringhata ..	59	121.08	..	..	6	124.92	267	49.88	355 8 0
Tehatta ..	12	15.24	..	..	8	113.07	273	200.77	297 1 8
Krishnaganj ..	6	20.40	..	..	10	19.84	594	175.34	1,075 2 11
Jibannagar ..	6	7.91	..	..	23	81.62	132	20.32	170 5 10
Meherpur ..	29	26.37	..	..	204	126.36	630	175.71	1,078 13 8
Hanskhali ..	2	4.25	..	..	19	144.00	178	21.68	532 2 3
Chadanga ..	17	27.61	..	..	42	86.03	564	104.95	1,199 9 2
Damurhuda ..	9	9.08	1	94	24	154.70	1,029	244.84	1,824 4 3
Chapra ..	..	..	..	..	29	35.56	1,286	241.89	1,765 11 1
Kumarkhali ..	..	..	..	..	17	71.20	1,110	305.06	4,194 7 9
Kushtia ..	38	24.74	..	..	120	9.37	255	71.67	528 5 10
Karimpur ..	5	1.04	..	..	17	60.97	414	103.73	925 0 1
Mirpur ..	7	10.19	..	..	188	159.96	690	156.33	1,679 5 5
Daulatpur ..	110	101.31	1	32	..	..	164	27.79	286 2 3
Gangni ..	8	5.13	..	..	13	46.33	258	155.32	383 1 4
Alamdanga ..	4	4.83	..	..	35	104.27	602	123.14	944 6 5
Khoksa ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	533	85.93	1,467 4 1
Bheramara ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	54	15.01	265 14 2
Total area done by Nadia Settlement.	618	749.14	22	44.34	1,135	2,014.35	27,402	5,385.43	41,352 6 10
Kumarkhali ..	4	3.34	5	1.33	46	17.32	242	50.14	630 6 10
Kushtia ..	4	5.06	..	..	1	43	665	110.81	5,116 7 8
Karimpur ..	41	41.50	4	4.92	..	1,454.96	104	18.84	143 6 4
Mirpur ..	..	..	..	..	23	13.20	187	50.83	386 12 5
Daulatpur ..	20	24.02	21	3.85	1,937	3,198.15	500	330.00	1,256 15 5
Bheramara ..	53	69.97	1	27	510	158.03	649	167.20	1,448 10 3
Total area done by Rajshahi Settlement.	122	143.80	31	10.37	2,517	4,842.09	2,347	727.82	8,985 10 11
TOTAL OF DISTRICT ..	740	893.03	53	54.71	3,652	6,856.44	29,749	6,113.25	50,338 1 9

D—continued.

Land Tenure—continued.

Under-ryats—											
With rights of occupancy (on cash rent).			Without rights of occupancy (on cash rent).			With rights of occupancy (fixed produce rent).		Without rights of occupancy (fixed produce rent).		Without rights of occupancy (share of produce rent).	
Number of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.
54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65
		Rs. A. P.			Rs. A. P.						
2,270	809-44	3,881 13 11	7,509	5,123-65	18,180 14 3	11	8-25	158	134-65	163	136-51
286	87-24	440 8 8	919	774-67	3,302 4 10	1	11	31	20-66	112	78-93
549	223-04	1,108 4 0	2,347	1,932-78	6,399 0 11	..	..	..	..	6	4-90
3,761	1,348-19	6,717 12 10	17,232	12,057-60	42,446 4 6	4	1-06	17	8-10	43	64-92
997	127-06	1,272 6 10	2,255	885-14	3,870 0 7	..	..	0	7-86	256	188-13
666	155-90	771 10 8	4,045	2,795-42	10,043 1 3	33	7-92	30	18-14	235	192-88
1,749	514-25	3,112 13 11	19,928	12,978-44	60,778 12 1	37	19-42	125	97-10	74	51-37
953	382-97	2,093 15 0	7,918	5,257-67	25,322 10 7	2	2-31	43	34-26	25	21-43
4,913	506-09	5,516 9 1	5,218	2,768-60	11,149 1 0	..	..	57	52-70	66	55-14
2,237	494-86	3,274 4 9	5,815	4,169-35	14,536 4 7	8	6-02	44	27-74	5	2-42
2,563	534-96	3,578 14 0	8,691	7,880-96	22,146 13 0	..	..	94	90-98	24	17-81
2,450	305-21	2,899 14 1	3,683	2,445-15	7,961 0 2	..	..	38	28-70	92	62-51
4,166	935-45	6,497 9 1	16,497	11,317-14	41,844 14 1	4	1-84	22	33-60	42	52-86
3,532	725-43	5,312 10 3	12,370	9,054-63	29,943 9 8	26	19-89	119	96-82	98	51-32
3,258	693-73	4,866 13 3	5,003	3,343-18	11,581 0 1	30	37-29	17	14-09	16	9-05
2,701	366-07	3,392 8 11	5,036	3,231-59	11,777 5 5	2	73	50	38-62	38	21-91
8,492	3,338-42	24,179 1 0	8,702	4,148-26	23,327 9 0	..	..	..	..	..	..
8,873	3,337-05	21,340 1 7	7,516	4,322-13	18,218 5 5	1	2-65	1	35	..	..
5,619	1,024-98	8,239 6 1	6,583	5,263-03	20,239 0 6	39	37-82	6	7-80	..	..
8,843	2,987-06	21,424 3 4	4,966	3,147-19	14,682 8 6	49	28-73	36	42-27	..	..
5,358	1,462-44	11,074 13 4	7,705	4,185-93	17,189 8 7	..	..	6	2-24	1	40
6,069	1,180-75	10,642 12 10	7,724	5,558-64	19,978 3 3	..	..	22	42-59	8	6-21
10,987	3,077-37	22,161 15 9	17,559	9,027-30	37,118 10 3	2	3-45	287	163-82	4	91
3,680	1,481-26	10,526 12 7	5,769	2,534-26	13,179 1 0	..	..	7	1-37	..	..
150	55-02	401 11 5	88	43-12	270 13 0	..	..	..	..	..	..
95,143	26,244-84	1,84,729 7 2	191,278	124,245-83	4,85,006 12 6	249	177-49	1,216	964-55	1,308	1,019-61
1,285	853-10	5,206 8 2	5,156	2,138-67	15,865 1 9	..	..	373	180-67	5,167	2,757-39
1,404	443-79	4,264 14 3	3,221	955-27	8,061 2 5	..	..	..	..	4,002	2,385-53
616	135-87	1,281 13 3	3,820	214-39	6,087 15 2	4	3-46	..	..	626	612-78
517	179-18	1,247 15 2	2,498	800-90	4,933 12 10	..	..	..	..	2,082	1,469-00
3,038	1,320-32	6,837 5 5	9,096	5,998-25	21,062 10 10	3	1-28	1	40	3,189	2,675-71
1,206	489-39	2,525 6 11	4,370	1,980-51	8,688 10 8	..	..	8	4-87	3,485	3,067-39
8,066	3,421-65	21,363 15 2	28,167	12,087-99	65,289 5 8	7	4-74	382	185-94	18,551	12,967-80
103,809	29,666-49	2,06,093 6 4	219,445	136,333-82	5,50,296 2 2	256	182-23	1,598	1,150-49	19,859	13,987-41

Name and tauli number of estate.	Nominal utbandi.				Nominal utbandi on fixed rent or rate of rent.			Incidence of rent.
	Settled and occupancy.				Number of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	
	Number of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence of rent.				
66	67	68	69	69(a)	69(b)	69(c)	69(d)	
			Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.			Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Krishnagar	2,895	4,883-24	20,088 4 1	4 1 8	....	....	....	....
Nabadwip	956	2,099-95	9,456 14 3	4 8 0	....	....	....	....
Santipur	2,379	4,847-64	19,733 9 11	2 12 6	....	....	....	....
Ranaghat	10,847	10,539-50	33,263 3 10	3 2 6	....	....	....	....
Kalliganj	3,700	4,961-66	10,080 0 5	2 2 7	....	....	....	....
Nakashipara	3,740	7,660-06	21,255 10 0	3 2 7	....	....	....	....
Chakdha	4,509	5,882-76	28,709 2 10	4 14 1	....	....	....	....
Haringhata	1,843	1,913-04	8,310 7 8	4 5 6	....	....	....	....
Tchatta	2,686	4,433-28	14,809 12 10	8 5 5	....	....	....	....
Krishnaganj	1,638	1,422-08	4,509 2 0	3 2 9	....	....	....	....
Jibannagar	1,453	1,384-85	4,009 15 0	2 14 4	....	....	....	....
Meherpur	911	654-99	2,227 12 4	3 6 5	....	....	....	....
Hanskhali	2,169	1,657-04	6,467 10 2	3 14 5	....	....	....	....
Chandanga	1,361	1,182-46	3,654 12 2	3 1 5	....	....	....	....
Damurhuda	1,947	2,237-75	6,554 5 2	2 14 10	....	....	....	....
Chapra	230	276-36	888 0 9	3 3 5	....	....	....	....
Kumarkhali	1	44	2 0 0	4 8 9	....	....	....	....
Kushtia	50	52-43	214 3 5	4 1 5	....	....	....	....
Karimpur	1,465	1,344-12	2,688 4 10	2 0 0	1	2-18	3 0 11	6 10 9
Mirpur	835	1,250-49	3,999 14 11	3 2 9	....	....	....	....
Daulatpur	4,342	3,629-58	11,666 12 6	3 3 5	....	....	....	....
Gangni	2,150	2,343-85	8,152 10 6	3 7 7	....	....	....	....
Alamdanga	1,706	1,309-11	4,693 10 9	3 10 0	....	....	....	....
Khoksa .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Bheramara .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Total area done by Nadia Settlement.	53,903	65,684-68	2,28,436 4 5	3 7 7	1	2-18	6 10 9	3 0 11
Kumarkhali .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Kushtia .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Karimpur .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Mirpur .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Daulatpur .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Bheramara .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Total area done by Rajshahi Settlement.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
TOTAL OF DISTRICT ..	53,903	65,684-68	2,28,436 4 5	3 7 7	1	2-18	6 10 9	3 0 11

continued.

and Tenure—continued.

Nominal utbandi.					Real utbandi not ordinarily so held.		
Non-occupancy.				Total area of nominal utbandi.	Settled and occupancy.		
Number of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence of rent.		Number of holdings.	Area.	Rate of rent.
70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77
		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.				
714	753-08	3,396 8 10	4 8 2	5,036-32	530	862-79	....
208	456-84	2,111 4 11	4 9 11	2,556-79	45	71-52	....
504	856-27	4,007 11 2	4 10 11	5,703-91	415	636-46	....
3,377	2,952-30	10,223 15 6	3 7 5	13,491-80	306	359-83	....
110	130-59	381 12 10	2 14 9	4,792-25	543	989-02	....
439	448-24	1,490 11 5	3 5 3	8,117-30	706	81-36	....
1,227	1,476-35	6,455 8 4	4 5 10	7,361-11	....	....	....
313	240-62	1,115 8 6	4 10 2	2,153-66	....	....	....
104	90-17	384 11 5	4 4 3	4,523-45	2,092	2,065-83	....
105	66-28	231 11 0	3 7 5	1,488-36	203	332-79	....
91	59-48	188 2 7	3 2 7	1,444-33	32	39-93	....
9	6-62	17 13 9	2 11 2	661-61	175	1,294-29	....
253	207-19	859 8 10	4 2 4	1,864-23	659	937-89	....
209	175-31	585 11 10	3 5 5	1,357-77	882	702-46	....
51	38-40	132 4 11	3 7 1	2,276-15	1,269	1,804-84	....
25	21-34	85 7 7	4 0 1	297-70	1,321	1,295-14	....
....	....	....	....	44	....	....	....
....	....	....	....	52-43	....	....	....
3	2-00	6 0 0	2 13 11	1,346-21	1,700	2,157-41	....
13	11-43	48 8 3	4 3 11	1,273-10	167	154-96	....
52	30-06	87 0 2	2 14 4	3,659-64	877	1,332-75	....
113	130-85	449 11 3	3 6 11	2,474-70	1,320	1,434-62
122	98-02	422 6 0	4 4 11	1,407-13	46	116-83
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8,108	8,253-53	32,682 3 1	3 15 9	73,940-39	15,348	17,206-72
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8,108	8,253-53	32,682 3 1	3 15 9	73,940-39	15,348	17,206-72

APPENDIX

Statement of

Name and tauli number of estate.	Real utbandi not ordinarily so held.				Real utbandi			
	Non-occupancy.			Total area of real utbandi not ordinarily so held.	Number of holdings.	Area of plots in which occupancy rights accrued.	Rate of rent.	Area of plots in which non-occupancy rights accrued.
	Number of holdings.	Area.	Rate of rent.					
78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	
Krishnagar	384	438.47	....	1,301.26	9,397	2,898.00	....	2,947.19
Nabadwip	14	17.72	....	89.24	2,075	1,666.46	....	2,860.75
Santipur	142	203.79	....	840.25	2,633	796.13	....	3,737.00
Ranaghat	86	107.76	....	467.59	653	101.15	....	888.34
Kaliganj	19	21.86	....	810.88	10,889	5,437.73	....	16,924.91
Nakashipara	330	445.72	....	1,263.08	9,635	4,782.51	....	25,602.39
Chakdha .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Haringhata .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Tehatta	54	41.20	....	2,107.03	24,407	23,784.49	....	20,352.70
Krishnaganj	142	178.08	....	510.87	1,364	1,040.06	....	627.93
Jibannagar	3	1.69	....	41.62	512	277.59	....	319.87
Meherpur	373	389.32	....	1,683.61	19,234	15,734.86	....	14,079.73
Hanskhali	254	285.50	....	1,203.39	2,782	923.50	....	2,025.17
Chudanga	30	28.10	....	730.56	2,120	881.96	....	1,481.68
Dagurhuda	173	154.73	....	1,959.67	5,829	5,385.35	....	2,804.77
Chapra	119	125.21	....	1,420.35	14,868	16,964.59	....	13,631.69
Kumarkhali .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Kushtia .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Karimpur	79	65.44	....	2,222.85	14,003	10,651.96	....	11,521.87
Mirpur	20	25.59	....	180.55	793	498.33	....	349.73
Daulatpur	138	138.70	....	1,471.45	4,137	2,370.86	....	1,756.75
Gangni	202	245.25	....	1,779.87	6,332	3,311.38	....	6,443.48
Alamdanga	15	7.00	....	123.83	858	502.04	....	549.00
Khoksa .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Bheramara .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Total area done by Nadia Settlement.	2,577	3,001.13	....	20,207.85	132,521	98,008.95	....	....
Kumarkhali .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Kushtia .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Karimpur .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Mirpur .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Daulatpur .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Bheramara .. ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Total area done by Rajshahi Settlement.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
TOTAL OF DISTRICT ..	2,577	3,001.13	....	20,207.85	132,521	98,008.95	....	132,521.84

D—concluded.

Land Tenure—concluded.

ordinarily so held.			Area unoccupied (including area outside the record).	Area occupied for public purposes.	Total area of the village.	Under-ryats at fixed rent or rate of rent.			Remarks.
Rate of rent.	Total of real utbandi ordinarily so held.	Total of real utbandi both ordinarily and not ordinarily so held.				Number of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	
86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95
								Rs. A. P.	
....	15,845-19	17,146-45	2,115-28	3,072-54	88,673-59	....	....	....
....	4,227-21	4,616-45	1,709-27	917-32	25,519-10	....	....	....
....	4,533-13	5,373-38	3,717-42	1,105-49	48,936-36	....	....	....
....	989-49	1,457-08	1,446-48	1,377-53	105,915-28	....	....	....
....	22,362-64	23,173-52	347-05	2,230-73	71,789-06	....	....	....
....	30,384-90	31,647-98	1,809-50	2,536-91	89,562-99	....	....	....
....	....	....	112-97	1,090-99	78,314-37	....	....	....
....	....	....	....	1,016-54	41,975-55	....	....	....
....	44,137-19	46,244-22	2,322-19	4,250-10	118,953-21	....	....	....
....	1,667-99	2,178-86	816-36	1,960-49	37,397-74	....	....	....
....	597-46	639-08	....	1,367-01	49,251-44	....	....	....
....	29,814-59	31,498-20	806-46	1,686-20	85,340-45	....	....	....
....	2,948-67	4,152-06	578-49	1,776-11	66,109-28	....	....	....
....	2,363-64	3,094-20	729-33	1,807-03	71,464-83	....	....	....
....	8,190-06	10,149-63	1,385-50	1,884-92	75,232-42	....	....	....
....	30,596-28	32,016-63	688-56	2,821-86	82,692-02	....	....	....
....	....	....	1,925-73	1,412-24	45,033-59	....	....	....
....	....	....	748-11	1,710-64	62,847-19	....	....	....
....	22,173-83	24,396-68	1,265-63	2,903-47	91,276-08	2	7-41	21 3 0	
....	848-06	1,028-61	151-10	2,676-90	70,778-14	....	....	....
....	4,127-61	5,599-06	313-34	1,240-87	48,111-97	....	....	....
....	9,754-81	11,534-68	1,294-61	2,676-51	84,803-78	....	....	....
....	1,042-04	1,165-87	1,077-28	2,186-58	85,381-43	....	....	....
....	....	....	1,246-15	1,136-73	20,668-75	....	....	....
....	....	....	....	26-55	703-94	....	....	....
....	236,904-79	257,112-64	26,666-81	46,937-26	1,646,782-56	2	7-41	21 3 0	
....	....	....	1,206-75	....	42,379-80	....	....	....
....	....	....	253-69	....	17,415-40	....	....	....
....	....	....	371-22	....	35,082-55	....	....	....
....	....	....	65-59	....	10,694-89	....	....	....
....	....	....	420-44	....	44,851-38	....	....	....
....	....	....	123-75	....	30,838-34	....	....	....
....	2,441-44	181,662-36	
....	236,904-79	257,112-64	29,108-25	46,937-26	1,636,444-92	2	7-41	21 3 0	

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No. XXV—3-1081, dated Alipore,
the 28th November 1927.

From—A. K. JAMESON, ESQ., I.C.S.,
Director of Land Records,
Bengal,

To—The Secretary to the Government of
Bengal, Revenue Department.

I have the honour to submit herewith the final report of the survey and settlement operations which have been in progress in the district of Nadia from the year 1917 and which have been brought to a close in the current year. The bulk of the report has been written by Mr. J. M. Pringle, and Mr. A. H. Kemm has contributed those portions for which figures were not available till after Mr. Pringle had left. The main part of the settlement work was finished in 1924, but for reasons, which will appear later, the concluding stages were prolonged till 1927. Mr. Kemm went on long leave in 1925 and on return to India as Collector of Burdwan he was unable to find much time in which to complete the report; its submission has therefore been regrettably delayed. The experience in this and in other settlements shows that it is advisable either to have the main report written before the Settlement Officer severs his connection with the work and to leave the later stages to be dealt with in a supplementary report as was done in Midnapore and Khulna, or if this is not possible owing to the Settlement Officer going on leave before he writes the report, then to place him on special duty for a short while on his return to enable him to write it. It is unreasonable to expect that an officer, who is out of touch with the work and is busily employed on other duties, should be asked to write an important document in such odd moments of time as he can spare from his other duties. A settlement final report is a work of much value to those engaged in several departments of the administration and it ought to be made available as soon as possible after the operations are concluded.

2. The district of Nadia covering 2,898 square miles lies in the centre of the Presidency Division having Murshidabad on the north-west, Burdwan and Hooghly on the west, 24-Parganas on the south, Jessore on the east and the river Padma on the north east. In shape it may be compared roughly to two triangles with a common base running east and west through the centre of the district with one apex to the north and the other

to the south. Geologically it occupies a position midway between the older alluvium of Bengal represented by the hard reddish soil of the Barind of Rajshahi and the Madhupur jungle of Dacca and Mymensingh and the recent alluvium of East Bengal.

3. Except in a small part of the north-east of the district the rivers have ceased to play an active part and the work of land building is complete. The principal agents were the Bhagirathi, once the main stream of the Ganges, which touches Nadia on the west, and probably the Bhairab which takes off from the Ganges in the north-west of the district and flows through it in a south-easterly direction. The latter is certainly an old river which was formerly of considerable size and importance, but perhaps about the middle of the 18th century the Ganges forced new channels cutting right across the line of the Bhairab and running south to join the Bhagirathi. The most important of these are the Jalangi which forms the western boundary of Nadia for some distance and joins the Bhagirathi at Nabadwip, and the Mathabhanga or Churni which joins the combined stream below Ranaghat. Below this point the joint stream is known as the Hooghly. These streams, known collectively as the Nadia rivers, have long had a special conservancy agency to look after them, formerly on account of their importance as trade routes to upper India and latterly, after the railways had taken their place as trade routes, on account of their importance to the Port of Calcutta. The fact that these rivers have become much less active than in former times is undoubted, but much controversy has taken place over the question of the date from which the deterioration began. The evidence is conflicting, but it seems probable that at least for the last century they have ceased to contribute to the process of land-building.

4. The district is intersected by several other streams in which the process of decay has gone further than in those already mentioned. Only in the east the Gōrai, which takes off from the Padma at Kushtia and its offshoot the Kaliganga are still active and annually bring a deposit of silt to the surrounding country.

5. The health of the district is notoriously bad and it has suffered more perhaps than any other, except Jessore,

from malaria. There can be little doubt that this is ultimately to be attributed to the decay of the rivers, but as the report points out it does not follow that the disease began to appear as soon as the rivers began to decay. It is more probable that conditions favourable to the spread of malaria were in existence for some time and that the actual appearance of the disease was due to some other factor, probably coming from outside the district. For, as we have seen, the activity of the rivers ceased at least a century ago whereas malaria seems to have become serious only since about 1860. Having once taken firm lodgement, however, it finds in the innumerable low-lying stretches, which are never properly drained or flushed out, and in the silted up beds of rivers and khals an ideal breeding place, and the problem of its eradication is one of immense difficulty. For the drainage instead of being towards the rivers is away from them into basins of larger or smaller size from which there is no outlet. These probably are gradually becoming filled up, but the process is a very slow one, and even when it is accomplished the problem of disposal of the surplus rain water will remain as acute as ever.

6. The rivers are of little use as means of communication and this is based chiefly on the main line of the Eastern Bengal Railway which runs through the district from south to north and its two branches, one going north-west from Ranaghat and the other north-east from Poradaha. There is a net work of roads linking up all parts of the district with one another and with the railways, many of them due to the activity of the indigo planters, but the great majority are unmetalled and nearly impassable in the rains.

7. The urban population of the district according to the last census returns was 6 per cent. of the total, which is a higher figure than that for rural Bengal as a whole. But as Mr. Pringle points out this merely means that villages have been made into municipalities, and are therefore classed as urban in the census report, which are not really industrial centres at all and they are all in a state of decay. Nearly one-third of the population was returned as depending on pursuits other than agriculture. This is due to the fact that Nadia is more self-contained in respect of the production of all the necessities of

life than most other districts in Bengal and has less intercourse with the outside world. It does not grow enough rice for the support of its population and annually imports a quantity estimated at two million maunds, but it pays for this by the export of miscellaneous *rabi* crops, and other imports are on a small scale.

8. The proportion of Muhammadans to Hindus is about 3 to 2, but the differences between the followers of the two religions are less marked than elsewhere. The Muhammadans are not punctilious in their religious observances, their dress is identical with that of the Hindus and even their names are often the same; they do not sacrifice the cow and few of them eat meat; they frequently join with the Hindus in celebration of the rites of Hindu deities. It is difficult to account for this lack of individuality among the Mahommedans, but perhaps the teaching of Chaitanya may have had some influence. Of the Hindus the most important caste is the *Mahishya* or *Chasi Kaibartta*, many of whom rose to affluence and importance in the indigo days. In point of numbers the next most important caste is the *Gonla*. Aborigines imported from Hazaribagh and Santal Parganas as labourers are numerous, but they have settled on the land and are becoming assimilated to the rest of the Hindu population.

9. The detailed analysis of the economic position of the cultivating classes, which was a feature of the older settlement reports, has been omitted in some of the more recent ones, and as I said in my reviews of the Jessore and Khulna final reports I am doubtful of the accuracy of such analysis. Mr. Pringle contents himself with saying that the Nadia cultivator is physically weak and lacking in stamina, his diet is poor and severely restricted, his clothing coarse and scanty and luxuries are almost entirely absent. In short, the standard of life is low, but he attributes this more to the character of the people, who are apathetic and content with little and have no desire to raise their standards, than to economic necessity. He points out that there is a large area of fallow land which could be brought under cultivation and was so brought under the stimulus of high prices during the war and since. This indifference to improvement is very strongly marked among the agricultural labourers who form a higher percentage in Nadia than elsewhere. They work from 9 in the morning till 3

in the afternoon with a nap after the mid-day meal and when they have collected enough in wages to last them over the next day or two they stay at home till the fund is exhausted, and then go out again to seek work.

10. Chapter IV is devoted to the employment of the land and agriculture. The proportion of cultivated land to total area in Nadia is only 70 per cent. which is markedly less than in any other district in the purely deltaic part of Bengal. But of the balance only 11 per cent. is entirely unculturable and this is a smaller figure than in any other district except Khulna. There remains therefore the very high figure of 19 per cent. which is culturable but not cultivated; it is in this respect that Nadia differs most from other districts. The reason is that though the soil is scarcely anywhere sterile it is not generally fertile and much land lies on the margin where an economic return is doubtful. Such land is cultivated only when pressure on the soil increases either through growth of population or rise in prices, and there seems to be some indication, though accurate figures for previous times are not available, that there has been an extension of the area cultivated in Nadia in recent years. The distribution of the culturable but uncultivated land is not uniform throughout the district; it falls to 10 per cent. in the east and rises as high as 30 per cent. in the west.

In other districts much of the culturable land is occupied by groves and jungle, but in Nadia more than three-fourths of it simply lies bare with nothing on it at all. The reason as stated above is that under the methods of cultivation prevalent in Nadia a large proportion of the land cannot bear continuous cropping and must be periodically fallowed. The situation of this fallow land naturally varies from year to year, but the Settlement Officer calculates that in each year as much as 250 square miles is unused for any purpose. Whether it could be used by improved methods of cultivation is a question which is considered later in the report.

11. When the crops grown on the cultivated area are considered, the poverty of the soil in Nadia becomes more evident. As much as 59 per cent. of the gross cropped area is under summer crops, that is practically only

aus paddy, a much less-paying variety than the *aman* which occupies only 32 per cent. and 49 per cent. is under *rabi* crops which again do not give a large return being only about half that for *aus*. Thus although two crops are grown on 40 per cent. of the cultivated land they give together less than the return obtainable from a single crop of *aman* paddy. Jute, which forms an important summer crop in other districts, is cultivated on a very small scale in Nadia. When it is remembered that a large proportion of the land which bears only inferior crops at the best of times has to be left fallow periodically for anything from one to four years, the disabilities under which the Nadia cultivator labours are manifest when compared with those of other districts.

12. Cattle are used mainly for agricultural purposes, so that they are most numerous in those areas where there is least ground left for pasture, and the excellent grazing grounds in the west of the district support only the small number necessary for the scanty cultivation in the neighbourhood. It would seem that there is a better opportunity in Nadia than in most other districts for improving and extending the cattle breeding industry.

13. The report next considers methods for overcoming the poverty of the soil. It is pointed out that although the Nadia Rivers Commission came to the conclusion that there had been no marked deterioration of the rivers for the last two centuries, this is not in accordance with the opinion of the local people who assert that the soil has become distinctly less fertile within living memory, nor with the evidence of the comparative maps showing the rivers at the time of the Revenue Survey and as they now exist. The discrepancy may be due to the fact that the Commission was considering the condition of the rivers as affecting the Port of Calcutta, whereas an investigation into their condition as affecting the fertility of the soil in Nadia might have had different results. In any case it is probable that schemes for the revival of the rivers might have beneficial effects in more ways than one and they merit the attention of Government.

14. Other methods of improvement which suggest themselves are the extended use of manures, both natural and

artificial. As is pointed out Nadia possesses 65 head of cattle per 100 acres of cultivated land, but their manure has to be used as fuel in the absence of a sufficient supply of fuel plants. A preliminary step therefore would be to extend the latter. As regards artificial manures, their use cannot be increased without experiment to ascertain which are most suitable for the local conditions and of this there has been nothing done. Similarly in respect of the improvement of the pulses, the devising of a suitable system of rotation of crops so as to bring the lands at present periodically fallowed under continuous cultivation, and the extension of fodder crops study of local conditions is essential. It is hardly possible to look to voluntary effort for this and Government must take up the work by establishment of an experimental farm in the district: at present there is none nearer than Berhampore where conditions are widely different.

15. In paragraphs 50 and 51 there is an interesting discussion of the effect on agriculture of the system of land tenure. Given that security of tenure for the peasant and the prevention of his exploitation by the landlord is the main object of tenancy legislation, as it must be in present conditions in Bengal, and given also the nature of the Bengal peasant which is even more apathetic and unprogressive in Nadia than elsewhere, with his small and absurdly fragmented holding it is difficult to see how either the peasant can be stimulated to improve his land or the landlord can be given sufficient inducement in the shape of increased benefits to embark on the necessary means for producing them. It can only be hoped that the Agricultural Commission now sitting may be able to find a way out of the dilemma which to the ordinary man seems almost insoluble.

16. Chapter I of Part II deals with the revenue history of the district before the Permanent Settlement, traces the history of the Nadia Raj, analyzes the revenue demand in pre-British days, and details the constantly changing methods of assessment adopted by the East India Company in laborious but somewhat bewildered attempts to arrive at a true knowledge of the resources of the district. Chapter II continues the history from the time of the Permanent Settlement which as elsewhere was followed by rapid dismemberment of the pre-existing estates; the process was not, however, carried so far as in some

other districts, and Nadia still possesses a large number of substantial zemindars. An interesting part of this chapter is the description of the indigo industry which flourished exceedingly up to 1860 and survived, though in a declining state, until the beginning of the present century. It is now dead, but it has left a profound effect on the land system of the district. The reason for this is that for its success it required the substitution of large-scale production by big organisations for the independent efforts of small cultivators. In order to secure an adequate supply of the crop the planters had either to induce the tenants to grow it themselves and to give advances to them to enable them to do so, or they had to get large areas into their own possession on which they could grow it by means of hired labourers. In the former case, in order to secure control over the tenants to whom the advances were given, it was essential for the planter to be in the position of immediate landlord and this led to the concentration in the planter's hands of a great variety of intermediate interests, and as the crop could not be grown for long continuously on the same land it led also to the practice of shifting tenants which jeopardised the security of their tenure. In the latter case the planter had frequently to assume the character of raiyat or even under-raiyat with anomalous results now that the indigo planting concerns have become ordinary zemindaris.

17. Chapter III is devoted to a detailed consideration of the system of land tenure known as *utbandi*. The system exists in other districts but only to a small extent whereas in Nadia it affects a large proportion of the area. It has been the cause of many of the disabilities from which the Nadia cultivator suffers to a greater extent than those of other districts and it had occasioned strained relations between landlords and tenants. In spite of several enquiries at different periods and much correspondence between Government and the local officers from about 1860 onwards precise information as to the nature of the tenancy and its results in practice, as distinguished from its theoretical legal incidents, and the extent to which it prevailed in the district was not available; it was largely with a view to obtain the required facts in order to devise a solution of the difficulties that had arisen from them

that the settlement operations were undertaken earlier than had been originally intended. In the simple form which no doubt it assumed at its origin the tenancy implied that a cultivator took up an area of uncultivated land and grew crops on it for one year paying rent according to a rate agreed on between himself and the landlord for such area as was ascertained by measurement to be under cultivation, after which he relinquished it. No doubt at first the system was economically justified because the land so taken up was not capable of being cropped for more than one or two seasons in succession after which it had to lie fallow, and the system allowed of the tenant getting the advantage of a crop when possible without being burdened with liability for rent when the land was fallow. But it was appropriate only to a state of affairs in which waste land was plentiful and tenants few and the relations between landlords and tenant were such as to ensure that the tenant enjoyed real freedom of contract in the fixation of the rates of rent. But at any rate by the second half of last century such a state no longer existed, and particularly when the indigo industry collapsed and land which could appropriately and without damage to the tenant be utilised under the system for growing indigo came to be employed for ordinary crops many abuses arose. The insecurity of tenure was the feature which attracted most attention in the earlier enquiries and section 180 of the Bengal Act was devised to reduce this as much as possible. But the comprehensive investigations conducted in the recent settlement showed that in practice the tenant was very frequently allowed to remain on the land for indefinite periods and the real evil proved to be the manipulation of rates. These had reached a condition of extraordinary elaboration for every conceivable kind of crop which could be grown on the land, and they had risen to a level very far above that at which land was held on the ordinary forms of tenure. It was found also that the system was applied to land which was capable of continuous cultivation for which it had no sort of economic justification and the freedom of contract which was of the essence of the system as properly worked had completely disappeared.

The abuse to which the system had been subjected was manifest, but a

solution of the difficulty was hard to find. It was not of the least use to give the tenant security of tenure so long as the landlord was free to impose any rates of rent he pleased, and it became evident that the only way to benefit the tenant was to abolish the fluctuating rates and fix an unvarying rent for the land whatever crops might be grown on it. It is fortunately not necessary to discuss the matter at length, because a solution has been found and embodied in the Bengal Tenancy Act as section 180A which became law in 1923. It provides a simple and satisfactory method of conversion of *utbandi* holdings into ordinary occupancy holdings on a rent which can be varied only on the same principles as apply to such holdings in the other sections of the Act. Both tenants and landlords were at first slow to take advantage of the new provisions, but by September 1926, 28,971 acres had been the subject of conversion applications. This represents 11.5 per cent. of the total area recorded as real *utbandi* in the settlement operations, so that there is a fair prospect that within a reasonable time the *utbandi* system will have disappeared from Nadia except in respect of land where it is still economically justifiable, and even there the possibility of conversion will undoubtedly have a restraining effect on the landlord in the matter of rates of rent. Up till September 1926 the applications were being dealt with by the Settlement authorities. Since then they have been handed over to the district authorities. It is important that they should do everything in their power to encourage conversion and it is to be hoped that it will not be relegated to a position of obscurity as one of the miscellaneous duties of a junior officer whose hands are already full of other work. It appears that statistics are no longer being kept to show the progress of conversion: this is an unfortunate omission which should be remedied at once.

18. Chapter IV describes in general terms the tenure system of the district and the relations between landlords and tenants. In the Kushtia subdivision there are many big *zamindars* the bulk of whose property lies in other districts, a large percentage of the tenants have fixed rent, and under *raiyats*, many of them holding under leases which purport to be permanent, are numerous. In the southern part of the district round

Ranaghat landlords are mostly absentees, raiyati holdings are large, and under-raiyats numerous. The classification of tenants known to the Bengal Tenancy Act is unknown to the people and they are locally divided into permanent tenants (those who hold under a lease for a term of years and are liable to be ejected at the end of the term), and *utbandi* tenants (who have no lease and are regarded as tenants at will), and the same classification is applied to under-raiyats. In the west and north-west the landlords are resident and retain a control over their tenants which is excessive; very few of the latter have fixed rents and as much as one-fourth of the area is in khas possession of the landlords. It was in this tract that, as a result of the peculiar conditions of indigo days, landlords claimed to hold large areas in raiyati right though they were all cultivated by tenants. In the centre of the district comprising Meherpur subdivision and the east of Sadar subdivision relations between landlords and tenants were worst and subinfeudation was at its most complex. Illegal enhancements and various pretences for avoiding the restrictions on enhancement flourished exceedingly.

19. Rent-free grants are numerous throughout the district and especially in the west owing to the liberality of Maharaj Krishna Chandra Ray in the 18th century. Produce rents are not an important problem in Nadia as they are elsewhere and only about 5 square miles was recorded as held on a share or a fixed amount of the produce.

20. Occupancy holdings are not transferable, but the amount of *salami* paid for recognition of the transferee varies widely. Many of the larger zemindars demand 25 per cent. of the purchase money but this appears to be a recent innovation.

21. In Chapter V detailed statistics are given regarding the different classes possessing rights in the land. The following table compares the percentage of total area in direct possession of the different grades in a few typical districts.

	Proprietors.	Tenure-holders.	Raiyats.	Under-raiyats.
Nadia ..	3.7	14.1	73.9	8.3
Jessore ..	2.4	9.5	61.0	27.1
Khulna ..	2.6	14.0	70.5	12.9
Faridpur ..	2.9	8.5	79.5	9.1
Bakarganj ..	5	41.5	51.0	7.0
Midnapore ..	8.7	27.9	60.3	3.1

The figures are to a certain extent artificial owing to the necessity of fitting widely different conditions into the rigid classifications of the Tenancy Act. Thus most of the tenure-holders in Bakarganj are really cultivators and most of the under-raiyats in Jessore and Khulna have all the privileges of raiyats. In Midnapore the large percentage held by proprietors and tenure-holders is due to extensive jungles not leased out to cultivators, and in Khulna much of the area shown as in direct possession of tenure-holders is really cultivated by *bhagchasis* who pay a portion of the produce as rent but were not given separate khatians in the settlement proceedings. In Nadia the area held by proprietors and tenure-holders is less than one would have expected, considering the history and natural conditions of the district; and from the area held by tenure-holders must be deducted most of the 3.3 per cent. held rent-free, the owners of which were classified as tenure-holders though many of them are really in the condition of cultivating raiyats. Among raiyats the proportion of those on fixed rents to ordinary settled or occupancy raiyats is one to two, and raiyats who hold on the numerous varieties of the *utbandi* tenure, many of whom are practically indistinguishable from ordinary occupancy raiyats, bear about the same proportion.

22. The average rate of rent for occupancy and settled raiyats is Rs. 2-7-3 per acre which is almost the same as in Jessore, Rs. 2-7-5 and a little less than in Faridpur, Rs. 2-10-6. In Khulna it is Rs. 3-5-10 and it rises as high as Rs. 4-4-5 in Noakhali and Rs. 4-8-10 in Bakarganj. It is to be noted, however, that much of the *utbandi* land is excluded from this calculation, so that, while in other districts the figures represent a true average for all classes of lands, in Nadia they represent the rent of only the better classes held on unvarying rents. The incidence of the rent is not even throughout the district: it rises as high as Rs. 3-10 in thana Kumarkhali and sinks to Rs. 1-12 in thana Hanskhali. An interesting diagram has been prepared which shows that the pitch of the rent varies very closely with the incidence of population, which seems to show that although rents in Bengal are for the most part customary they are affected by the demand for land.

23. Part III describes the settlement operations. The area consisted of 2,658 square miles, excluding that part of the district which lay along the Padma river and had been done in the course of the diara operations on that river by the Rajshahi settlement party, and including 94 square miles in the districts of Murshidabad, Burdwan and Hooghly lying along the Bhagirathi and Jalangi rivers which were taken up for diara resumption purposes by the Nadia settlement party. It was divided into three blocks, the areas of which were 953, 915, and 790 square miles. Except in connection with the *utbandi* system the work was not difficult. The number of plots to the square mile in the three blocks averaged 1,088, 1,250 and 1,693, respectively, and the interests 420, 357 and 470. The number of kanungos available was more adequate than it has been in later operations. In certain parts of the district survey was difficult owing to the congested nature of the village sites and the existence of tracts of abandoned land on which thick jungle had sprung up, and in other parts the preparation of the record was complicated by the number of intermediate tenures held in a confused manner by different groups of the same body of shareholders. In the first season the influenza epidemic brought the work almost to a standstill for a month and a half and made it very difficult to induce amins to return to work after it had abated, so that proceedings were prolonged into the rains. In the other two blocks, in spite of much loss of time owing to malaria, from which the amins suffered a great deal, the field work was finished in June. The organization was throughout good and every endeavour was made to secure correctness in the map and record at the earliest possible stage by insisting on a larger amount of partial by the kanungos than had been usual in previous settlements. Some improvements in procedure were introduced especially in the matter of ensuring that plots should be put correctly into the estates to which they belonged; these have now been adopted generally. Disputes about the length of the local standard of measurement were many and hotly contested and, as in *utbandi* areas the tenant's total rent depended largely on the area in his possession as measured by the landlord according to the local standard, these disputes were of more practical import-

ance than in other districts and they had to be very carefully enquired into.

24 At the attestation stage there were, in connection with ordinary raiyati holdings, the usual claims to hold at fixed rents under the presumption contained in section 50 (2) of the Bengal Tenancy Act, and there were numerous instances of illegal enhancement of rent, particularly in areas where indigo had previously been grown; the reason for this was that the intermediate interests were created at competitive rents when indigo was a highly paying concern, and when it failed the raiyati rents had to be forced up to cover the loss. After such illegal rents had been reduced in a few villages many of the landlords refused to produce their papers and it is to be feared that many instances of illegal enhancement have remained undetected. But it was in connection with *utbandi* that the most difficult duties arose for the attestation officers. Paragraphs 126 to 129 give in detail the investigations which were required; they were exceedingly thorough and it is to be hoped that there can be no further dispute about any tenancy of this nature.

The other stages of the work up to final publication were normal and call for no comment.

25 Applications for settlement of fair rent under section 105, Bengal Tenancy Act, were made in respect of 43,375 tenancies. One of the points in these applications which occasioned controversy was whether an issue could be raised under section 105A regarding the correctness of the entry of existing rent in the finally published record. This is not specifically stated as one of the issues in section 105A; but it cannot have been the intention of the framers of the Act to bar it from consideration, as obviously the recorded rent cannot be used as a basis for determining a fair rent unless it is correct. However, any doubt that might occur has been set at rest by a clause in the proposed amendment to the Bengal Tenancy Act now under consideration. Some alarm was caused by a ruling of the Special Judge that the Limitation Act applied to the substitution of heirs in proceedings under section 105. The two months allowed after final publication for the institution of proceedings is quite insufficient for a big landlord to ascertain all changes which have

occurred between the framing of the record at attestation and its final publication perhaps a year or more afterwards. Had the Special Judge's opinion prevailed, it would have caused the failure of a great many applications, but fortunately it was overruled in a decision of the High Court reported in C. L. J. XLIII, p. 591, and an unlimited time was allowed for substitution. The general result of these applications was to enhance tenure-holders' rents by 11·7 per cent. and raiyats' rents by 17 per cent., of which one-third was on account of additional rent for increased area and two-thirds for enhancement, mainly on the ground of rise of prices.

26. Proceedings for revision of Revenue were taken up in 199 Government and temporarily-settled private estates covering an area of 87 square miles, most of them lying along rivers where they had been created in previous resumption proceedings. The Settlement Officer notes that, when rates of rent are based on the class of land, correct classification in the *khasra* is of great importance, as it is impossible for the officer making the rent settlement to check every plot. He suggests that when it is known that an estate will come under re-settlement, special steps should be taken to have the *khasra* more carefully checked by a *kanungo* than if done in ordinary estates where the classification is merely for statistical purposes. This is a sound suggestion and I shall see that it is brought to the notice of all Settlement Officers.

27. Proceedings for resumption of alluvial accretions were taken up on the rivers Bhagirathi, Jalangi, Mathabhanga, Kumar and Gorai. Proceedings were also contemplated on the Kaliganga and Churni, as the comparative maps which were prepared showed that a considerable total area might be resumed. But this was made up of narrow strips due to slight shrinking of the rivers within courses which had not substantially changed, and on a reference made to them the Board of Revenue laid it down as a general principle that such accretions should not be resumed, mainly on the ground that as Revenue Survey maps cannot be relaid with absolute accuracy the apparent accretion might not in fact have taken place. Previous resumptions had been made on some of these rivers on the old principle of comparing total

areas of estates as shown in the quinquennial papers with the areas found at the time of resumption and assessing any excess without identifying the actual accretions. The present principle involves a comparison between the river as it existed at the time of the Permanent Settlement and as now existing by means of the preparation of comparative maps, and the resumption of only such land as was then water but is now dry, the Revenue Survey maps being presumed to represent the course of the river at the time of the Permanent Settlement in the absence of proof to the contrary. On this principle much more land might have been resumed; but where it appeared that an area roughly equivalent to what might come under assessment had previously been resumed the proceedings were dropped on equitable grounds. Evidence to rebut the presumption that the Revenue Survey maps represented the state of things existing at the Permanent Settlement was forthcoming in the shape of a survey of 1828 on the Jalangi, a survey of 1810 on the Kumar, one of 1796 on the Mathabhanga and one of 1821 on the Gorai. None of these old surveys was conducted by accurate methods and the maps were only approximately correct. The general principle adopted in deciding what weight should be attached to the evidence of these maps was that when they showed marked discrepancies in the course of the river from that shown in the Revenue Survey maps it might be taken that the river really had changed its course and it would not be equitable to adopt the Revenue Survey as the basis for resumption. But, on the other hand, as it was impossible to relay the old maps with any degree of accuracy they could not be used as an alternative basis for resumption, and therefore the accretions, if any had actually occurred, escaped resumption altogether. Where the discrepancy between the old maps and the Revenue Survey was small and it appeared that the river was flowing substantially in the same bed at both surveys the difference was considered to be due to the inaccuracy of the older work and it was not considered to have rebutted the presumption based on the Revenue Survey maps, and accordingly resumption proceeded on the latter. This appeared to be a commonsense view of the matter and one which could not be said to be unjust to the proprietors of estates. It was acted on without

objection in the other rivers, but when the resumptions on the Mathabhanga came before the Board of Revenue they held that no distinction should be made between large and small discrepancies and directed that the old map should be relaid "as accurately as possible" and that all areas shown by the relay to have been dry land then, though under water at the time of the Revenue Survey, should be excluded from resumption. As the data on which these old maps were prepared are no longer in existence, the only method of relay was by superposition of village sites as shown then and as appearing on our cadastral maps. But in the old maps these are merely indicated vaguely by conventional signs and it is impossible to be sure of their real position within a mile or two; if they were adopted as they stood at one end of the sheet and superposed on the corresponding sites on our cadastral maps, there was frequently a discrepancy of many miles between identical villages at the other end of the sheet. Such methods obviously could lead to no satisfactory result and I appeared personally before the Board of Revenue to explain the position. What the result might have been I cannot say, for I went on leave before the Board gave a decision and the gentleman who acted for me took a different view and informed the Board that he did not wish to proceed with the resumption; the Board therefore set aside the proceedings without giving an opinion on the principle involved. This leaves the question wholly undecided, but fortunately it is not of much practical importance as it is improbable that such old maps exist on any of the other rivers in the Province on which resumption proceedings remain to be undertaken.

28. Altogether 276 cases were started, of which 143 were dropped, 108 were confirmed and at the moment of writing 25 are still pending. The reason for the delay in these is that in the original proceedings only what was actual water at the time of the Revenue Survey was resumed and large areas within the banks of the river which were then covered by sand were omitted. Subsequently, however, the Board of Revenue ruled that areas covered by sand could not have been included in the assessment made at the time of the Permanent Settlement and that they were liable to resumption. As the area

involved was large the cases had to be sent back and proceedings started *de novo*. The additional revenue secured on the cases which were confirmed is Rs. 28,228.

29. Except for these resumption cases the work of the settlement was practically over by the end of the settlement year 1925-26. Allowing a sum of Rs. 10,000 to cover all expenditure incurred after that year, the total cost of the operations comes to Rs. 23,19,656 against a sanctioned estimate of Rs. 22,73,101, an excess of 2 per cent. The excess is fully accounted for by the rise in cost which has taken place since the estimate was prepared in 1916; indeed the officers responsible for the operations are to be congratulated for not having incurred a larger excess. The amount recovered from the parties benefited works out at Re. 1-1 per acre in Block C and Re. 1 in the rest of the district. Realization in excess of the figure, estimated as the basis on which these rates were fixed, is very much less than in most of the previous settlements and will not exceed about Rs. 30,000, less than 2 per cent. on the estimated figure.

30. Of the operations as a whole I cannot speak with personal knowledge, as I became Director of Land Records after the field work was finished. Mr. Kemm, however, who is in a position to appraise the work without appearing boastful as he came in right at the end, and who has had experience of settlement records in several districts testifies that Nadia is excelled by none. I am content to accept this opinion and to associate myself with the commendation which he bestows on the officers named by him at the end of the report who contributed most to the success of the operations. The real begetter of that success is Mr. Pringle, to whom the thanks of Government are due; his energy and organising capacity were marked and he tackled the intricate and difficult questions involved in the *utbandi* system with skill and resource. The report, which is mainly his work, is interesting and should be most valuable to all concerned with the administration of the district. To Mr. Kemm also are thanks due, especially for a valuable report on the whole *utbandi* question which formed the basis of the subsequent legislation and for his share in the final report.

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

Revenue Department.

Land Revenue.

DARJEELING, THE 29TH MAY 1929.

RESOLUTION—No. 429 T.R.

Read—

The Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the district of Nadia.

Letter No. XXV-3-1081, dated the 28th November 1927, from the Director of Land Records, Bengal, submitting the report.

Letter No. 15-R.L., dated the 9th January 1929, from the Commissioner of the Presidency Division, submitting his remarks on the report.

Nadia is a small district and lies in the heart of the Province. It was at one time the headquarters of the old Hindu Kings of Bengal and to-day Nabadwip is still a centre of religious life as also of Sanskrit learning. It has been the scene of important historical events, the most considerable of which in modern times was the battle of Plassey. In the 19th century the district was covered with flourishing indigo factories.

2. The survey and settlement operations of the district were taken up earlier than had been originally intended mainly with a view to devise a solution of the difficulties which had arisen from the system of land tenure known as *Utbandi* which affects a large proportion of the area of the district. This system had its origin originally perhaps in the poverty of the soil and was stimulated by the cultivation of indigo. Where *Utbandi* prevails holdings consist of parcels of land, the area, location and rent of which are ascertained and recorded annually. The principal disability under which the tenants of these holdings suffered was the high rate of rent charged for every conceivable kind of crop. A solution has been found and embodied in the Bengal Tenancy Act as section 180A, which became law in 1923. Both tenants and landlords are taking advantage of the new provisions of the Act and a respectable percentage of the total area recorded as real *Utbandi* has since been converted into ordinary occupancy holdings. It is hoped that within a reasonable time the *Utbandi* system will have almost disappeared from Nadia.

3. The area of the district is 2,898 square miles of which 70 per cent. of the land is cultivated, 11 per cent. is entirely unculturable and the remaining 19 per cent. is culturable but not cultivated. The reason for this high figure of 19 per cent. is that though the soil is scarcely anywhere sterile it is not generally fertile and much land lies on the margin where an economic return is doubtful.

4. The total population of the district is 1,487,572 as recorded in the census of 1921 of which 60 per cent. are Muhammadans, 39 per cent. Hindus and nearly 1 per cent. Christians. 68.6 per cent. of the population derives its livelihood from agriculture and Nadia is more self-contained in respect of the production of all the necessities of life than most other districts in Bengal.

5. The conditions of agriculture in the district are susceptible of much improvement. This is due to the low standard of cultivation, the poverty of the soil and the apathy or, more bluntly, the laziness of the people. The health of the district is notoriously bad and it has suffered severely from malaria.

6. The total area surveyed by the Nadia Settlement Party was 1,646,244 acres. The area of nominal *Utbandi* lands was 73,914 acres and of real *Utbandi* 252,173 acres. The incidence of raiyati rent is Rs. 2-7-3 per acre, which is almost the same as in Jessore, where it is Rs. 2-7-5, and a little less than in Faridpur, where it is Rs. 2-10-6.

7. The total number of estates on the touzi roll of the district is 2,603 and the land revenue is Rs. 9,85,294. The gross rental of raiyats and under-raiyats is estimated to amount to about Rs. 45 lakhs.

The Governor in Council observes with regret that many abwabs are exacted from the tenants throughout the district, even where the *Utbandi* system does not prevail.

8. Traverse survey began in 1917-18. The first field season, however, coincided with the influenza visitation which was seriously felt in Nadia and this retarded progress. The operations were completed by the end of the year 1925-26. The total cost of the operations was estimated at Rs. 22,73,101, but the actual expenditure was Rs. 23,09,656, an excess of 2 per cent. The excess is fully accounted for by the general rise in prices which has taken place since the estimate was prepared in 1916. The Settlement Officer is to be congratulated on avoiding a larger excess. Recovery of costs was satisfactory.

9. The Governor in Council desires to place on record his appreciation of the services of Mr. J. M. Pringle, I.C.S., for the able manner in which he tackled the intricate and difficult questions involved in the *Utbandi* system of land tenure. His thanks are also due to Mr. Kemm for his share in the final report and especially for his valuable review of the whole *Utbandi* question which formed the basis of the subsequent legislation. It is gratifying to observe that this settlement not merely recorded things as it found them but left them better than they were. The experience gained during the settlement operations enabled Government to devise a partial solution of the problems arising out of the peculiar system of land tenure of the district in the shape of the *Utbandi* Act, which appears to be gradually dissolving the abnormalities of the system.

By order of the Governor in Council,

H. J. TWYNAM,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal (offg.)

Nos. 7997-98 L.R.

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Copy of resolution No. 429 T.R., dated the 29th May 1929, forwarded to (1) the Director of Land Records, Bengal, and (2) the Commissioner of the Presidency Division, for information with reference to his letter (1) No. XXV-3-1081, dated the 28th November 1927, and (2) No. 15 R.L., dated the 4th/9th January 1929.

No. 7999 L.R.

Copy, with a copy of the report, forwarded to the Appointment Department of this Government, for information.

By order of the Governor in Council,

J. N. SIRGER,

Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

DARJEELING,

The 29th May 1929.

